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Wisconsin State Historical Society

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

AT ITS

46th

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

Held December 8, 1898

AND OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION

Held February 22 and 23, 1899

Published by Authority of State



MADISON

DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTER

1899



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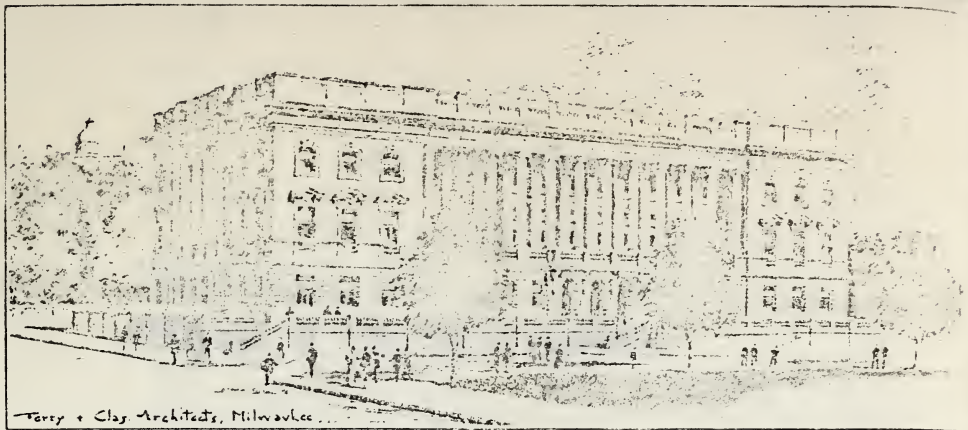
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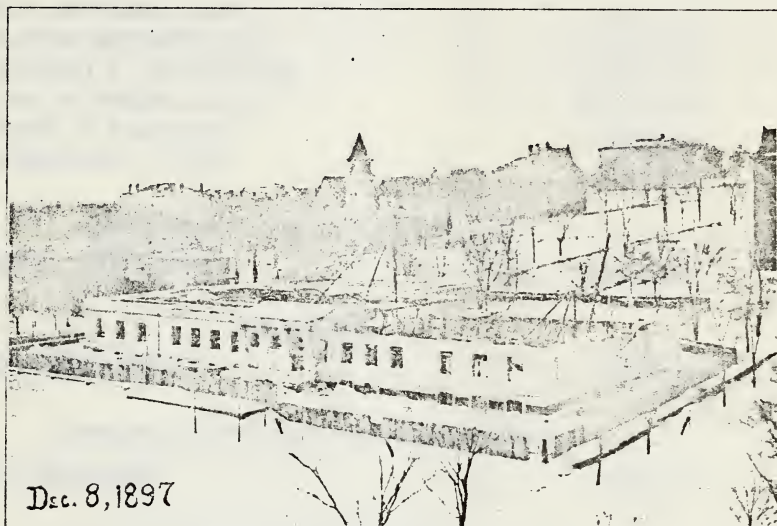
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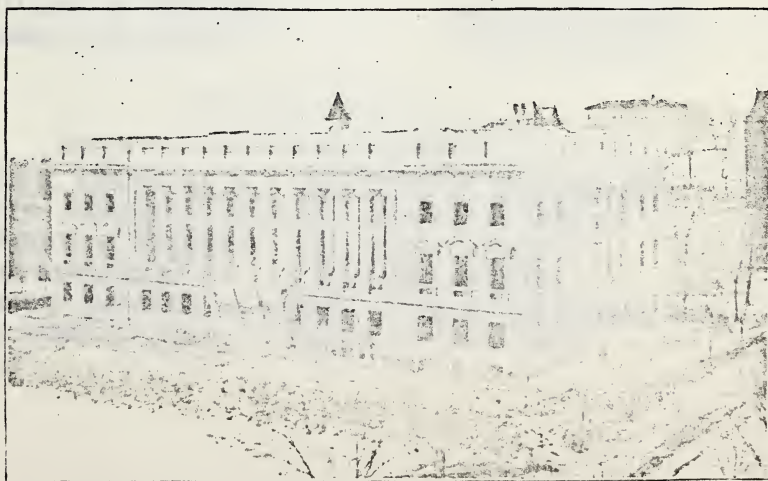


WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY BUILDING

Now being erected by the bounty of the Legislature, upon State property at Madison, for the use of the State Historical Society (trustee of the State). The building as it will appear when completed.



STATE OF CONSTRUCTION, DECEMBER 8, 1897



STATE OF CONSTRUCTION, MARCH 1, 1898

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1898-99.

PRESIDENT

HON. JOHN JOHNSTON	.	.	MILWAUKEE
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VICE-PRESIDENTS

JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D.	.	.	MADISON
HON. JAMES SUTHERLAND	.	.	JANESVILLE
HON. ROBERT L. McCORMICK	.	.	HAYWARD
WILLIAM W. WIGHT, LL. D.	.	.	MILWAUKEE
HON. JOHN B. CASSODAY	.	.	MADISON
HON. WILLIAM F. VILAS	.	.	MADISON

SECRETARY AND SUPERINTENDENT

REUBEN G. THWAITES	.	.	MADISON
--------------------	---	---	---------

TREASURER

FRANK F. PROUDFIT	.	.	MADISON
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LIBRARIAN AND ASST. SUPERINTENDENT

ISAAC S. BRADLEY	.	.	MADISON
------------------	---	---	---------

CURATORS, EX-OFFICIO

HON. EDWARD SCOFIELD	.	.	GOVERNOR
HON. WILLIAM H. FROELICH	.	.	SECRETARY OF STATE
HON. JAMES O. DAVIDSON	.	.	STATE TREASURER

CURATORS, ELECTIVE

Term expires at annual meeting in December, 1899

CHARLES K. ADAMS, LL. D.	HON. BUELL E. HUTCHINSON
RASMUS B. ANDERSON, LL. D.	HON. JOHN A. JOHNSON
HON. GEORGE B. BURROWS	HON. BURR W. JONES
JAMES D. BUTLER, LL. D.	J. HOWARD PALMER
FREDERIC K. CONOVER, LL. B.	PROF. JOHN B. PARKINSON
JOHN C. FREEMAN, LL. D.	HON. N. B. VAN SLYKE

Term expires at annual meeting in December, 1900.

HON. ROMANZO BUNN	HON. SILAS U. PINNEY
PROF. CHARLES N. GREGORY	HON. GEORGE RAYMER
HON. JOHN JOHNSTON	ARTHUR L. SANBORN, LL. B.
HON. ELISHA W. KEYES	HON. HALLE STEENSLAND
REV. PATRICK B. KNOX	HON. WILLIAM F. VILAS
HON. ROBERT L. McCORMICK	WILLIAM W. WIGHT, LL. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in December, 1901.

HON. ROBERT M. BASHFORD	WAYNE RAMSAY
HON. JOHN B. CASSODAY	PROF. WM. H. ROSENSTENGEL
JAIRUS H. CARPENTER, LL. D.	HON. ROBERT G. SIEBECKER
WILLIAM A. P. MORRIS, A. B.	HON. BREESE J. STEVENS
MAJ. FRANK W. OAKLEY	HON. HORACE A. TAYLOR
FRANK F. PROUDFIT	FREDERICK J. TURNER, PH. D.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The thirty-six curators, the secretary, the librarian, the governor, the secretary of state, and the state treasurer, constitute the executive committee.

STANDING COMMITTEES (OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE).

Library — Turner (chairman), Gregory, Raymer, Anderson, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Art Gallery and Museum — Oakley (chairman), Keyes, Johnson, Knox, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Printing and Publication — Conover (chairman), Jones, Sanborn, Vilas, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Finance — Van Slyke (chairman), Morris, Ramsay, Burrows, and Palmer.
Advisory Committee (ex-officio) — Turner, Oakley, Conover, and Van Slyke.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES (OF THE SOCIETY).

Draper Homestead — Van Slyke (chairman), Steensland, and Thwaites.
Biennial Address, 1899 — Thwaites (chairman), Adams, Stevens, Gregory, and Turner.

Field Meeting, Autumn of 1899 — Turner (chairman), Wight, Jackson, Stickney, and Thwaites.

Relations with the State University — Thwaites (chairman), Hanks, Burrows, Morris, and Raymer.

LIBRARY STAFF.

SECRETARY AND SUPERINTENDENT

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

LIBRARIAN AND ASST. SUPERINTENDENT

ISAAC SAMUEL BRADLEY

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

MINNIE MYRTLE OAKLEY

LIBRARY ASSISTANTS

[In alphabetical order]

FLORENCE ELIZABETH BAKER

EMMA HELEN BLAIR*

MARY STUART FOSTER

EMMA ALETHEA HAWLEY

ANNIE AMELIA NUNNS

GEORGIANA RUSSELL SHELDON

IVA ALICE WELSH

JANITORS

CLINTON GUILFORD PRICE (library)

CEYLON CHILDS LINCOLN (gallery and museum)

LIBRARY OPEN—From 9 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.

PORTRAIT GALLERY AND MUSEUM OPEN—Morning, 9 to 12:30; Afternoon,
1:30 to 5.

* On leave of absence.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.¹

The forty-sixth annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in its rooms in the capitol, Thursday evening, December 8, 1898.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

President Johnston, upon taking the chair, said:

Members of the State Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is the 46th annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; but this statement does not convey an accurate idea of the length of time in which the objects of our Society have received the attention of some of the best minds of our State.

As early as 1845, Chauncey C. Britt, in the *Mineral Point Democrat*, urged the organization of such a society; and in October, 1846, there was a Territorial Historical Society organized here in Madison by delegates in attendance on the first constitutional convention. Although it set forth with brave resolutions, it held but the one meeting and then quietly passed away.

Early in 1849, the members of the first State legislature, taking up the idea of three years before, organized a State Historical Society with Governor Dewey as president. Although its efforts were not very fruitful until the services of Secretary Lyman C. Draper were obtained, yet the organization was maintained, meetings were held, officers were regularly elected, and a small library formed. Its work at length commenced with vigor under Dr. Draper's lead, and has continued without intermission unto the present day. The *First Annual Report and Collections* of the Society were published for the year 1854.

We have now nearly arrived at the close of the fiftieth year of our existence as a society. That little seed planted in 1849, by our first State legislature, took deep root in the affections of the people, and has grown to be a mighty tree of knowledge, whose fruit assists in giving intellectual sustenance to two millions of souls, and brings honor and fame to our beloved commonwealth.

¹ The report of proceedings, here published, is synopsized from the official MS. records of the Society.—SEC.

The child of the legislature, it has little complaint to make of its parental treatment. No doubt there have been times when our lawmakers have not fully realized its services as a great factor in the educational system of the state. They did not always appreciate the fact that it is to the libraries and to scholars at large what the State University is to the high and common schools; there have been times when its future looked dark, and when its very existence was maintained only by the careful solicitude and devotion of its friends. Although there never was a time when its funds were not too small for its work, yet the Society has had much to be thankful for in the past: and today a great future seems to be opening before it.

With a stately home being constructed for it by the State, an increased annuity promised so soon as it moves into that home, and enlarged opportunities for usefulness opening upon every side, the Society closes its semi-centennial year with high hopes, and the kindling of renewed zeal in the service of the people.

The date fixed in the contract for the completion of the new building is August 1st, 1899: but no doubt there will be delays, for more money is needed from the next legislature to complete, equip, and fully furnish the structure, involving new contracts. We need not, therefore, be surprised if it be the first of December before we can move in; perhaps the best we can hope for is, that our next annual meeting may be held in the beautiful lecture hall which the State is preparing as the future rendezvous of the Society. It will be proper for the Society to dedicate the new building with fitting ceremonies. This could, and I think should, be made the occasion for the observance of our semi-centennial anniversary.

Some twenty-five years ago, the legislature made us an annual allowance of five thousand dollars, for the general purposes of the Society. At that time, considering the size of our library, the extent of the demands made upon it, and the wealth of the State, the appropriation was no doubt reasonably generous. Then we had but 20,000 titles (books and pamphlets) in the library: today, as you will see by the report of the secretary, we have about 200,000. Comparatively few people sought our shelves a quarter of a century ago: the State University was then a small institution, with comparatively little original work being done there, in history and economics and social science, and there were few if any post-graduate students; today, the University is a power in the land, and our rooms are daily thronged with its professors and students, seeking material for original investigation in many fields; and, besides these, there seek our shelves students from many other universities, as well as an ever-increasing number of literary and professional men in and out of Wisconsin, who are not connected with educational institutions.

It would, I think, surprise many of our members, even, were they to know how extensively our institution is used by State officials, teachers, and citizens in general, as a State bureau of information. Daily, letters of

inquiry are referred to us by other State departments: and a glance at our secretary's mail would surprise one not familiar with its extent and scope, to see how many problems are propounded, of every conceivable character, not only by our own citizens, but those of other states. This answering of questions from those seeking information, is no small part of the work, although it is but one of our many fields of usefulness.

In fact, there is a new and widespread interest in our State and its history, in Western history at large, in genealogy, in economics, in social science, political science, and in all those branches of knowledge for which this institution stands. I think I may say that Wisconsin has, for the past few years, been taking mighty strides forward, in the field of general culture—nowhere is this fact more in evidence than in the daily work of our great library.

Thus have the demands upon us grown several hundred fold within the past ten or a dozen years—far faster than most of us are aware. Few of us appreciate, I imagine, how large and important an educational enterprise we have here—what its work is, what it needs to maintain and broaden that work, and what are its future possibilities.

In order to keep pace with the demands, it has been necessary to enlarge our staff either by engaging experienced persons or by training new workers. This has been done by very slow degrees, experimentally, and only after accumulated tasks have rendered it in each case a necessity. The assistants have primarily been required to be college graduates, and possessed of temperaments fitted to this peculiar and exacting sphere; and I hardly need say that the high requirements of the past should, and will of course, be maintained in the future. We have no room in this work for dullards; we cannot afford to engage any but highly-educated, tractable, and pleasant-mannered assistants. It is but just for me to say that our secretary's present staff of helpers appears to be an exceptionally intelligent, well-trained, and agreeable body of young women, with whom it is a pleasure for the public to deal.

Of course this growth of the staff has most seriously intrenched on the old appropriation of five thousand dollars per annum. Low as the salaries are, in the mass they now leave us less than \$2,000 per year for the purchase of books, with nothing whatever for the growth of the museum. We need at least \$7,000 a year for the library, and \$1,000 for the museum; this is a very low estimate, and we ought not to rest satisfied until it is doubled. The statutes provide increased funds for us as soon as we move into the new building; but it will be necessary for us to pass the intervening year with this insufficient means for book-purchasing. It is sincerely to be hoped that the expenses for maintaining the building will leave us with at least our minimum estimate for books. As for the museum, I would suggest that we make an effort so to increase the antiquarian fund, by private gifts, that an income of a thousand dollars a year may be ulti-

mately realized from that, for this feature of our work. The museum has great possibilities as a factor in public education, and increased popularity for the Society, and needs our support and encouragement,—although not at the expense of the library, which is, and always will be, our proudest possession. Present indications do not point to our ever receiving more from the State than sufficient to properly maintain the library. Apparently, the museum must depend upon the private funds of the Society.

At the present time we annually receive from the State what is equal to one-fourth of a cent for each one of our population; and when we move into our new building that will be increased to one-half of a cent for each man, woman, and child in Wisconsin. Is it too much to hope that the legislature may increase even this sum; and may we not ask this with more boldness, when we consider how cheerfully the people of our State annually contribute twenty-five hundred times as much to the national government, the need for a large portion of which sum has arisen from our desire to liberate a million and a half of people in a neighboring isle?

It is pleasant to note that within the past year there have been numerous additions to the membership roll of our Society—twenty-one life members and thirteen annual members. Although the roll is now fairly representative of the different sections of the State, it is to be hoped that many others may soon be induced to join our ranks. From many points of view, there is strength in numbers.

I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the growing strength and broadening usefulness of the Society, as evidenced in the annual report of the executive committee, and feel that we should enter upon the new year with a proud satisfaction of a half-century's work well done.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Secretary Thwaites, in behalf of the executive committee, presented its annual report, which was adopted. [See Appendix, A.]

FINANCIAL REPORTS.

W. A. P. Morris, of the committee on finance, presented the report of that committee, approving the annual report of Treasurer Proudfit, both of which reports were adopted. [See Appendix, B, C. and D.]

Mr. Morris also presented, on behalf of Chairman Van Slyke, who was absent, the report of the Draper House committee, which was adopted. [See Appendix, E.]

BIENNIAL ADDRESS.

Chairman Thwaites, of the special committee on the biennial address for 1899, reported that the committee had secured the services of Dr. George B. Adams, of Yale University, whose topic would be, "The Movement for Federation between England and her Colonies;" the address would be given before the Society on the evening of February 22nd, 1899. The report was adopted.

MIDWINTER HISTORICAL CONVENTION.

Mr. Thwaites also reported in behalf of the special committee of six (R. G. Thwaites and F. J. Turner, Madison; W. W. Wight, Milwaukee; A. A. Jackson, Janesville; E. R. Hicks, Oshkosh; and I. C. McNeill, Superior) appointed at the semi-centennial historical convention in June last, to prepare for a similar midwinter convention. The convention is to be held in connection with the biennial address before the Society on February 22nd, 1899, and men of prominence throughout the State will be invited to speak. The report was adopted.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved — That the Society hereby approves the plans for a midwinter historical convention under the auspices of the Society, to be held in Madison on the occasion of the biennial address, which have been prepared by the committee of six appointed at the semi-centennial historical convention in June last, and directs that the same be carried out by said committee, in conjunction with the special committee on the biennial address.

Resolved — That the Society hold a field meeting in the autumn of 1899, at some historic town in Wisconsin, outside of Madison, the date and place thereof to be fixed, and the programme arranged, by a special committee of five, to be appointed by the chair.

CURATORS ELECTED.

Messrs. W. A. P. Morris, F. K. Conover, J. B. Parkinson, F. W. Oakley, and P. B. Knox were appointed a committee on the nomination of twelve curators to serve for the ensuing term of three years, and reported in favor of the following, who were

unanimously elected: Robert M. Bashford, Jairus H. Carpenter, John B. Cassoday, William A. P. Morris, Frank W. Oakley, Frank F. Proudfit, Wayne Ramsay, William H. Rosenstengel, Robert G. Siebecker, Breese J. Stevens, Horace A. Taylor, and Frederick J. Turner.

REPORT OF THE STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSIONER.

The secretary presented the official report of Hon. J. Q. Emery, state superintendent of public instruction, as state historical commissioner for the year 1898, pursuant to the provisions of chapter 289, laws of 1897. It was received, and ordered published with the *Proceedings* of the meeting. [See Appendix, F.]

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The annual meeting of the executive committee was held at the close of the Society meeting December 8, 1898.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Messrs. B. W. Jones, H. A. Taylor, J. H. Carpenter, J. C. Freeman, and George Raymer were appointed a committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing term of three years, and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected:

President—John Johnston, Milwaukee.

Vice-Presidents—James D. Butler, Madison; James Sutherland, Janesville; Robert L. McCormick, Hayward; William W. Wight, Milwaukee; John B. Cassoday, Madison; William F. Vilas, Madison.

Treasurer—Frank F. Proudfit, Madison.

NEW MEMBERS ELECTED.

The following new members were unanimously elected:

Life—George B. Hopkins, New York; Edward E. Ayer, Chicago; Peter White, Marquette, Mich.; Edward P. Bacon, Charles Best, Frank G. Bigelow, Wyman Kneeland Flint, J. E. Friend, Howard Greene, John C. Koch, George P. Miller, Fred Pabst, Henry C. Payne, Charles F. Pfister, Miss Elizabeth A. Plankinton, Charles Ray, and A. A. L. Smith, Milwaukee; James T. Lewis, Columbus; William J. Starr, Eau Claire; Gilbert M. Woodward, La Crosse; Herbert B. Tanner, Kaukauna—21.

Annual—J. P. Buck, Henry A. Foster, Hiram G. Freeman, George C. Jones, and Henry D. Smith, Appleton; Stanley E. Lathrop, Ashland; George G. Sutherland, Janesville; John Wattawa, Kewaunee; Charles A. Curtis and Charles I. King, Madison; R. W. Fish, John C. Ludwig, Milwaukee; Frank H. Spearman, Chicago—13.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

The following resolutions were, after discussion, unanimously adopted:

Resolved—That the salary of the treasurer be and it is hereby fixed at \$150 for the fiscal year ending Nov. 30, 1899, the same being payable from the binding fund income, in addition to the standing annual appropriation therefrom.

Resolved—That the Finance Committee be and they are hereby instructed to take such steps during the current fiscal year as they may deem

advisable, looking to the substantial increase of the antiquarian fund, as recommended in the address of the president and the annual report of the executive committee.

Resolved — That the chair appoint a special committee of five, on the relations between the Society and the board of regents of the State University, with regard to the management and maintenance of the new library building, said committee to confer from time to time with a similar committee of the board of regents, and, whenever necessary, to report to the executive committee of this Society.

Resolved — That the library committee take into consideration the matter of a differentiation of purchases of books and periodicals, in connection with the State University library; also, the advisability of an equitable exchange between the two libraries of those classes of books which may, after a plan of differentiation is agreed upon, be found foreign to the scope of each other's collection, and report to the executive committee whenever necessary.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED.

The president announced his appointment of the following committees for the ensuing year:

STANDING COMMITTEES (OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE).

Library — Turner (chairman), Gregory, Raymer, Anderson, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Art Gallery and Museum — Oakley (chairman), Keyes, Johnson, Knox, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Printing and Publication — Conover (chairman), Jones, Sanborn, Vilas, and the Secretary (ex-officio).

Finance — Van Slyke (chairman), Morris, Doyon, Ramsay, Burrows, and Palmer.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES (OF THE SOCIETY).

Draper Homestead — Van Slyke (chairman), Steensland, and Thwaites.

Biennial Address, 1899 — Thwaites (chairman), Adams, Stevens, Gregory, and Turner.

Field Meeting, Autumn of 1899 — Turner (chairman), Wight, Jackson, Stickney, and Thwaites.

Relations with the University — Thwaites (chairman), Hanks, Burrows, Morris, and Raymer.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

APPENDIX.

- A. REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
- B. REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.
- C. REPORT OF TREASURER.
- D. REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FROM STATE APPROPRIATION.
- E. REPORT OF DRAPER HOMESTEAD COMMITTEE.
- F. REPORT OF STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSIONER.
- G. GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.
- H. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS RECEIVED.
- I. WISCONSIN NECROLOGY, YEAR ENDING NOV. 30, 1898.
- K. LEADING WISCONSIN EVENTS, IN 1898.
- L. STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION, FEBRUARY, 1899; WITH
ADDRESSES DELIVERED THEREAT.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

[Submitted to the Society at the Forty-sixth Annual Meeting, December 8, 1898.]

SUMMARY.

The Society's fiscal year just closed has, in large measure, been a season of active preparation for the occupancy of the new building, to which we hope to move before the close of 1899. This work of preparation has, with other causes, materially reduced our income for purchases, so that we have, throughout the year, experienced much hardship in this direction—a financial condition which will, we regret to say, continue with us for at least another twelve-month. While our growth in books and pamphlets during the year has been quite up to the average, owing in great part to gifts,—chiefly of public documents and monographs which are of prime importance in original research,—our accessions of necessary books “in the trade,” or standard sets of resources, have unfortunately been meagre, in comparison with our needs. The semi-centennial anniversaries of last May and June received much attention from the Society, and the work which it was enabled to do in the furtherance of these, was generally recognized as of value; the net result to the Society was a considerable acquisition, by gift and deposit, of valuable manuscript records, a welcome enlargement of its membership list, and a more general knowledge and appreciation of its work.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

General Fund.

The general fund consists of the annual State appropriation of \$5,000. Its condition is as follows:

Receipts.

Unexpended balance, from previous year.....	\$310 03	
Annual State appropriation.....	5,000 00	
	<hr/>	\$5,310 03

Disbursements.

(Analysis of expenditures, year ending November 30, 1898.)

Services	\$2,877 12	
Books, maps, and periodicals	2,040 44	
Pictures	20 75	
Supplies	11 85	
Printing	65 38	
Freight and drayage.....	104 68	
Travel	179 00	
Incidentals	9 81	
		\$5,309 03
Balance on hand		1 00
		<hr/> \$5,310 03

The report of the treasurer gives the details of the foregoing expenditures, and a statement thereof, as approved by the finance committee, has been filed with the governor according to law (sec. 376, Wisconsin Statutes for 1898).

Upon moving into the new building, the annuity from the State will be \$15,000; out of this must come the Society's share of the cost of maintenance of the building, and some other expenses now borne by the State because of our occupancy of rooms in the capitol.

The Binding Fund.

This fund, now consisting of \$28,291.54 in cash and securities, is the product of special gifts, one-half of the membership dues and receipts from the sale of duplicates, and the interest on loans. The net increase during the year was \$1,780.22, of which \$968.98 was received under the will of the late Stephen Taylor, of Philadelphia.

Mr. Taylor came from Philadelphia to Wisconsin in 1833, as an organizer of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and in that year established a lodge at Mineral Point, where he settled. From 1835 to 1841, he was assistant register of the U. S. land office at Mineral Point; he prepared and published an early map of the lead region, and in 1842 contributed to *Silliman's Journal* an article on the effigy mounds of Wisconsin. In 1843 he returned to Philadelphia, where he was a conveyancer, and at one time city comptroller. Revisiting Wisconsin early in the seven

ties, he became much interested in the work and collections of this Society, and later gave his portrait to our gallery and books to our library, and the sum of \$50 to the binding fund. Upon his death in his seventy-third year (December 8, 1877), it was found that he had made in his will the following bequest, to take effect upon the death of his widow:

"I give and bequeath to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin the sum of one thousand dollars to be added to the binding fund thereof; *Provided*, that should said Society at any time in the future erect a building for the assemblage of their members and the preservation of their efforts, then and in such case it is my will and I do so direct that the said bequest shall be transferred by said Society for such building purposes."

Mrs. Taylor died early in June, the present year, and the bequest then became available; but as the estate was not sufficient to pay the legacies in full, the amount awarded to us was, as stated, \$968.98. As the State, and not the Society, is erecting the new building, the finance committee conveyed the money into the binding fund. It would be well for the Society if it had more friends like Stephen Taylor, whose interest in its affairs took tangible form.

The binding fund is now doing admirable work, in eking out the bounty of the State.

The Antiquarian Fund.

This is the product of interest on loans, one-half of the membership dues and receipts from the sale of duplicates, and special gifts. The treasurer's report shows its present condition to be as follows, a net gain during the year of \$450.64:

Cash and securities in hands of treasurer.....	\$3,308 69
Note given for the fund, as yet unpaid.....	20 00
Total.....	\$3,328 69

The income of this fund is eventually to be expended in "prosecuting historical investigations, and procuring desirable objects of historic or ethnological interest." It would not be good policy to make appropriations therefrom until the income reaches \$1,000 per annum, which would necessitate a fund of at least \$20,000. It is worthy of consideration at this meeting, whether it would not be desirable at once to make an attempt, by subscrip-

tions among the members and friends of the Society, to raise about \$17,000 in order to make the fund available by the time of removal to the new building.

The Society's library is, and will always remain, its crowning possession; next in importance, comes its work of investigation and publication. In both fields, its chief reliance must be upon the bounty of the State. The museum and gallery are, however, the most popular features, and the source of greatest strength. If the State provides with sufficient liberality for the other departments of the Society's work, it would be a graceful thing on our part to see that the museum and gallery are properly maintained by us. We possess, in our present show rooms, a mere nucleus of what these latter features may readily become, with a small but wisely-expended annuity. There are immense possibilities in the museum and gallery, as factors in popular education; in the forthcoming fifty-first year of our existence as a Society, the time would seem fitting to make an earnest effort to at last place them upon a proper financial basis. When removed to the new building, we may rest assured that gifts of many kinds will soon be forthcoming—such is the experience of all similar institutions upon moving into new and better quarters; but we shall all the more need money of our own to fill the gaps, and assure steady progress in the principal lines of collection. It took many years of persistent, at times almost frantic, endeavor to raise the binding fund to a substantial condition; let us hope that, in these more prosperous days, the antiquarian fund may be a plant of more rapid growth.

The Draper Fund.

From the treasurer's report, it will be seen that there is now in this fund the sum of \$167.15. No portion of the income of the fund has been expended during the year. The Draper MSS. should be indexed as soon as possible; but the task is great, and involves the employment of highly skilled labor, thus entailing a considerable expense, for which the fund is as yet unprepared. The sale of the Draper homestead, now in the market, would add materially thereto. The sale of duplicates from the

Draper library was interrupted by the financial crisis; but doubtless we shall be able to find a market for some of them, during the coming year, thus still further augmenting this fund, which has in it possibilities of great usefulness.

Library Accessions.

Following is a summary of library accessions during the year ending November 30, 1898:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	1,691
Books by gift	2,440
Total books	4,131
Pamphlets, by gift	2,705
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings, etc., worthy of preservation.....	124
Total pamphlets.....	2,829
Total accessions.....	6,960

Present (estimated) strength of the library:

Books.....	101,720
Pamphlets	97,175
Total	198,895

The year's book accessions are classified as follows:

History, general	106	Useful arts	41
American history, general....	128	Literature.....	48
United States, local history ..	436	Philology.....	5
Foreign history.....	200	Philosophy and religion.....	70
Geography and travel.....	78	Antiquities	18
Biography and genealogy	153	Newspapers and periodicals ..	1,454
Political and social science*..	233	Cyclopædias.....	22
Legislation, including state and government documents. 1,049		Bibliography and library econ- omy	27
Natural science.....	55	Total.....	4,131
Fine arts	8		

The following comparative statistics of gifts and purchases are suggestive:

Total accessions (books and pamphlets).....	6,960
Percentage of gifts, in accessions.....	73
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges), in accessions.....	27

* Including social science, statistics, political science, political economy, law, administration, and reports of associations and institutions.

Actual total of gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned).....	7,132
Books given.....	3,069
Pamphlets given	4,063
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates.....	27
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	73

Duplicates are always welcomed, as these we exchange with other large libraries in the United States and Canada. No gift to us comes amiss.

WORK IN THE LIBRARY.

Catalogue of Newspapers.

The long-promised annotated catalogue of newspaper files in the library of the Society has been a thing of slow, one might say of spasmodic growth. Owing to circumstances beyond our control, which it is not necessary here to recite, work upon it was temporarily postponed, soon after printing began; and, despite our best endeavors, it has been possible to continue the undertaking only at long intervals. We take satisfaction in reporting that the catalogue is now in the final stages of publication, and will probably issue from the press within the present month. We believe that the catalogue will be generally welcomed by students of American history and economics, wherever situated; investigations into other large collections will be facilitated by the use of this list, with its accompanying notes and chronological arrangement.

The files in the possession of the Society now number about ten thousand bound volumes. The collection is fairly representative of nearly every state in the Union, and, to a less extent, of several other leading countries of the world. It represents nearly every political party in the history of the United States, and there are few interests, sacred or secular, that have not here some organ.

In addition to the labor involved in the completion of the printed catalogue, the newspaper department has well under way a card catalogue of the collection.

Classification.

Although hampered for means, we have felt it essential, in preparation for occupying our new building, to enter upon the great task of classifying and shelf-listing all save a few departments of the library. This work has been in active progress throughout the year, occupying the entire time of two members of the staff. At the close of the fiscal year, about one-half of the portion of the library which it is now designed to classify and number, has thus been treated. The work so far done, embraces the general history, geography, and biography of each country in the world, so far as represented in the library, except the local history of the United States and Great Britain; in addition to these, the two important classes of political science and social science have been completed. This work has involved the contemporaneous marking of the corresponding cards in the catalogue, which has employed one cataloguer much of the time, and often required the services of two persons, in addition to the classifiers.

The system of classification followed by us, is based upon that of Cutter, with such modifications as are necessary to meet our needs as a library specializing in history, economics, and political and social science.

Differentiation in Purchases.

During the past two or three years we have, so far as was practicable, had constantly in view in our purchases, the fact that we were soon to be under the same roof with the library of the State University. While both libraries will of course continue strictly to preserve their official identities in different stack rooms and offices, visitors to the building will be able, at the delivery counter in the great reading room, to call for books housed in either library. It is obviously important that these two institutions, both supported by the State, should not unwittingly duplicate their purchases. At present, an informal agreement exists, as to differentiation, in which the University library purchases in the departments of science, technology,

philosophy, philology, education, belles lettres (except Shakespeare and old English drama), and fine arts; while we continue to purchase only in the fields in which we have always specialized—history, genealogy, travel and description, economics, sociology, newspaper files, Shakespeare, and old English drama. This leaves us upon common ground in biography, bibliography, and periodicals, with the understanding that, as a rule, we take the American and general field, and the University the technical and foreign. But this agreement leaves open many complicated exceptions, which will have soon to be interpreted with definiteness, together with numerous other delicate questions of adjustment, by the respective library committees.

This matter of differentiation between the two libraries involves not only purchases being or yet to be made, but concerns present collections. Each, in its past attempt to be a general reference library, already contains much that is clearly within the other's special scope. It would materially assist in the work of administration, and prove as well a convenience to the public, if an equitable exchange of surplusage could be arranged either before or soon after moving.

Mementoes of the Constitutional Convention.

Up to a year ago, the Society had spasmodically acquired a few autographs and portraits of the members of the two State constitutional conventions (1846 and 1847)—perhaps a dozen in all. Inquiries sent out by us, incident to the semi-centennial anniversary, have led to the opening of a correspondence which has resulted in our acquiring a relatively large collection of such autographs and portraits, probably nearly exhausting present opportunities in that direction. Of the 187 men who participated in the two conventions, we now have autographs and portraits of about one-half the number, which will soon be mounted and properly bound for preservation. Many of the autographs are contemporaneous letters, describing the men and work of the conventions; in connection with them are also numerous letters by surviving relatives, giving heretofore-unpublished particulars of the lives of members, all of which

adds materially to the data now available for a history of the conventions and for biographies of the delegates. It is interesting to note that there are now (December 1, 1898) known to be living, but 10 of the 187 — Orsamus Cole, Milwaukee; Andrew E. Elmore, Green Bay; George W. Featherstonhaugh, Lake Gurnee, Ill.; Moses S. Gibson, Washington, D. C.; David Giddings, Fond du Lac; Benjamin Hunkins, Beaver Crossing, Nebr.; James T. Lewis, Columbus; Theodore Prentiss, Watertown; Harrison Reed, Jacksonville, Fla.; and Theodore Secor, Spencer, Iowa.

We are indebted to the following persons for aid in making our collection:

Bardsdale, Cal. — Robert Cruson; Beloit — Mrs. A. J. Atwood, Mrs. Elizabeth Barber; Chicago — H. D. Estabrook, Howard L. Smith; Columbus — James T. Lewis; Cortland, N. Y. — Mrs. M. T. C. Bishop; Disco — Mrs. James B. Cartter; Dubuque — Mrs. John Ely Bready; East Troy — C. W. Smith; Elkhorn — A. C. Beckwith; Fond du Lac — David Giddings; Fort Atkinson — Mrs. Edward Rankin; Fox Lake — Mrs. Elizabeth Judd Fisher; Glencoe, Ill. — James K. Calhoun; Green Bay — Miss Harriette Irwin; Greenwood, Texas — Sam D. Burchard; Janesville — Mrs. C. H. Patterson; Kalamazoo, Mich. — J. C. Bennett; Kenosha — Miss Cynthia M. McClellan; Lake Geneva — Mrs. J. W. Boyd; Lancaster — E. B. Goodell; North Greenfield — John Cooper; Madison — Mrs. Sarah T. Chapman, Mrs. Louise B. Favill, H. J. Hill, Mrs. Elma Smith, James S. Smith; Mendota — Capt. C. C. Carter; Milwaukee — Orsamus Cole, E. W. Edgerton, Adolph Huebschmann, Mrs. Statira S. C. Lakin, C. P. Larkin, Mrs. Moritz Schoeffler, W. J. Turner, John H. Tweedy, Jr., H. A. J. Upham, John B. Vliet; Mineral Point — Montgomery Smith, Miss Agnes Strong; Monroe — John Luchsinger; Oconomowoc — Warham Parks; Oshkosh — Andrew Jackson; Racine — L. S. Kellogg; Russell, Kans. — Mary K. Lewis; Sharon — Mrs. Lucinda Kinyon; South Jacksonville, Fla. — Harrison Reed; Spencer, Iowa — Theodore Secor; Washington — Mrs. E. T. Howard; Watertown — Theodore Prentiss.

Wisconsin in the Spanish-American War.

One of the most interesting collections in our library is the set of ten quarto volumes of newspaper clippings, giving the correspondence to home journals of Wisconsin volunteers in the War of Secession — a rich quarry for regimental historians. We are now engaged in collecting newspaper clippings relative to the mobilization and movement of Wisconsin troops in the

recent Spanish-American War. This work, in which excellent progress has already been made, we have placed in the hands of a professional clipping bureau, which has ample facilities for gathering the material sought; it will cover not only the references in Wisconsin papers, but those of other parts of this country, and of Puerto Rico, where the troops of our State were stationed.

SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

American Historical Association.

December 28th-30th, 1897, the secretary represented the Society at the thirteenth annual convention of the American Historical Association, held in Cleveland, and presented a paper upon "The Functions of State-Supported Historical Societies." The meeting was largely attended, and proved successful in many ways. The association is doing a most excellent work in popularizing and broadening the study of history in America, and is yearly growing in strength. Among the matters of business considered, was a plan proposed by Professor Salmon of Vassar College, for a system of affiliated historical societies; it appeared to meet with favor, but for development was referred to a select committee. This plan comprises the following important features: (1) Any local historical society may be affiliated with the American Historical Association by vote of the executive council of the national organization and on payment of the ordinary membership or life membership fee, as in the case of any public library or other corporation. (2) It shall be the duty of such affiliated societies to deposit each year with the secretary of the American Historical Association a complete list of the names and addresses of its members. (3) The American Historical Association shall send to such affiliated society programs of its meetings and such other circulars of inquiry or information as may be deemed expedient. (4) The Association shall publish in its annual report a list of such affiliated societies, together with the leading officers. This plan will probably lead to the federal development of the American Historical Association, which is already a national society, chartered by con-

gress and reporting to it annually through the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who is now a life member. It will be seen that this national affiliated scheme has features in common with the state plan previously proposed with respect to our own Society and local Wisconsin organizations, and authorized by chapter 118, laws of 1897.

Library Conventions.

The Wisconsin Library Association held no meeting within the year, contenting itself with taking part in an interstate meeting at Evanston, Ill., February 22d, 23d. Librarians were present from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, our own library being represented by the assistant librarian. A district conference under the auspices of the State association was held at Oshkosh, January 28th, 29th, at which the secretary represented our institution; he was also present at the organization of the Fox River Valley Library Association at Menasha, October 21st. Our Society is actively co-operating with the State association and the State Free Library Commission, in forwarding the interests of the public-library movement in Wisconsin. It is gratifying to be able to note that Wisconsin occupies an exceptionally high position among the states of the Union, with regard to public-library progress, and its system of free traveling libraries is generally regarded as a model.

From July 4th to 9th, the American Library Association met at Lakewood-on-Chataqua, N. Y., our representatives being the secretary, librarian, and assistant librarian. This association is of great importance and value to the library profession throughout the country, not only in its practical work but in its cultivation of *esprit du corps*. The Society should, as a matter of policy, be regularly represented at its meetings by one or more members of the staff.

State Field Work.

During the year, the secretary has, in the interests of the Society, visited various portions of Wisconsin, upon errands of

research in connection with the editing of the *Collections*, and to address public meetings either in behalf of free libraries for small communities or in the general interests of historical study within the State. Among the trips thus made, was one in connection with the celebration of the sixty-sixth anniversary of the Battle of the Bad Ax (Black Hawk War, 1832). Starting from Soldiers Grove with members of the Vernon County Pioneer Society, upon July 31st, the trail of Black Hawk was followed in carriages from the Kickapoo River to the Wisconsin, through a picturesque region in Crawford and Vernon counties. Addresses were made by the secretary at Soldiers Grove (July 30) and on the Bad Ax battle-field (August 2). About two thousand persons, representing a broad district, were present upon the field, and despite the discouragement of a pouring rain it was agreed to repeat the celebration upon this spot, every few years. Local celebrations such as this, upon historic spots, may profitably be held, and will do much to stimulate interest in historical study, and awaken a spirit of State pride.

Wisconsin Historical Collections.

In June last, Volume XIV of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* was issued from the press. The popular demand for the volume has been large, and we believe it to be one of the most interesting which has been published by the Society.

During the year we have received from Paris authenticated copies of a large number of valuable documents now resting in the National, Colonial, Marine, and Foreign Affairs archives, relating to French domination in Wisconsin, particularly to the prosecution of the half-century of relentless warfare against the Fox Indians. We have secured English translations of these, from the French, and expect soon to publish the series in the *Collections*.

Requests for our publications are constantly on the increase, thus testifying to the steady growth in our midst, of historic consciousness. The first nine volumes can no longer be supplied. The people would, we think, welcome a legislative appropriation for their reprinting, in order that Wisconsin schools

and teachers, especially, might be supplied with these materials for the original study of the history of the commonwealth. The Society, however, in view of its appeals to the legislature for substantial aid in other directions, does not at present feel warranted in asking this additional favor; it has been hoping that the teachers themselves would organize a movement therefor.

Appointed Superintendent.

At a meeting of this committee held February 10, 1898, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That in addition to their respective duties as secretary and librarian, the secretary be, and hereby is, appointed superintendent of the library, art gallery, and museum of the Society; and that the librarian be, and hereby is, appointed assistant superintendent."

MANUSCRIPT RECEIPTS.

The revival of popular interest in Wisconsin history, incident to the semi-centennial anniversary, has not yet resulted in many important accessions to our archives of manuscript records illustrating the early history of the Territory and State. Negotiations in progress, however, promise fruitful results; and several important collections have already been placed on deposit with us, but cannot yet be mentioned in our annual report — most, if not all, of these will no doubt ultimately be given to the Society. Contemporary documents — diaries, journals, surveyors' field-books, maps, letters, account-books, etc. — contain the most valuable data which can come to the hand of the historian of the men and manners of any period. It cannot be too widely known that the Society, as the trustee of the State, is anxious to amass and preserve material of this sort, for the benefit of future investigators. Citizens holding documents which are of historical importance should remember that so long as these remain in private hands they are liable to suffer from fire, decay, damp, theft, or the neglect of future generations which may care nothing for them; and they are practically inaccessible to the student of history. Every consideration of

public policy and of family pride points to the importance of placing them in a great public collection like this, where for all time they will be carefully preserved and utilized. The following receipts of manuscript documents have been recorded during the year (omitting those placed on deposit):

Mrs. Louise S. Farill, Madison.—Eighteen letters and other documents bearing upon the early history of the Protestant Episcopal church and Indian missions at Green Bay—all of these being published in Vol. XIV of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*; account book of a Mackinac merchant, June, 1820—July, 1825; a bundle of accounts, notes, warrants, and miscellaneous legal papers (1839-57) from the office of the late Henry S. Baird, Green Bay.

David Grignon, Green Bay.—Two letters (May 1, 1827, and Aug. 23, 1837) bearing on the early fur trade in Wisconsin.

Mrs. Frank B. Phelps, Janesville.—Nine documents written by Eleazer Williams—eight sermons and one account book.

Mrs. Martha Showalter, Lancaster.—MSS. and clippings relating to Woman's Relief Corps of Wisconsin; the early history of Lancaster; and genealogy of the Ryan family.

Miss Ida M. Street, Milwaukee.—Four documents (1832-37) concerning the U. S. Indian agency at Prairie du Chien, under Gen. Joseph M. Street.

H. B. Tanner, Kaukauna.—Memorabilia of the Holland semi-centennial celebration, 1898.

A. J. Turner, Portage.—Facsimile of survey of the old portage trail at Portage, 1839—published in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV.

Ellis B. Usher, LaCrosse.—Correspondence of chairman of Democratic state central committee, campaign of 1888. This collection is not accessible to the public before 1900.

THE PORTRAIT COLLECTION.

The official record of receipts of works of art, during the past twelve months, is as follows:

Photographs and Lithographs.

Byron Andrews, Washington, D. C.—Group of the U. S. war senate, 1898; group of the U. S. war congress, 1898.

Mrs. Louise S. Farill, Madison.—Daguerreotype of Mrs. Emeline S. Whitney (née Henshaw), wife of Daniel Whitney. Green Bay; photographs (reproduced in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIV) of Madame Thérèse Schindler and Mrs. Elizabeth Thérèse Baird.

Franklin Hathaway, Chicago.—Photograph of himself. He surveyed the city of Madison in July and August, 1837.

Adolph Huebschmann, Milwaukee.—Photograph of Dr. Francis Huebschmann (framed).

Mrs. J. Adelaide Hubbard, Chicago.—Photograph of herself.

C. V. Porter, Viroqua.—Photograph of H. S. Townsend, a veteran of the Black Hawk War, taken at 66th anniversary, on Battle Island, Vernon county, Wis., August 2, 1898.

H. E. Story, Belleville.—Framed photograph of residence of Nathan Dane, Beverly, Mass., for whom Dane county, Wis., was named.

L. G. Stuart, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Photograph of Bishop Frederick Baraga.

R. G. Thwaites, Madison.—Six photographs of the Masonic Temple, Madison, Wis.; photograph of present village of La Pointe, Madeline Island, Chequamegon Bay, 1898.

A. J. Turner, Portage.—Photographs of Gen. J. J. Abercrombie, Henry Carpenter, Satterlee Clark, Dandy (Winnebago chief), Lieut. Jefferson Davis, Gen. W. S. Harney (2 copies), Mr. and Mrs. John H. Kinzie (2 copies), Capt. and Mrs. Gideon Low, Gen. and Mrs. G. B. McClellan, Gen. and Mrs. R. B. Marcy, Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli, Henry Merrell, Gen. John Pegram, Mrs. Thérèse Prescott, Maj. and Mrs. N. B. Russell, Gen. E. V. Sumner, Gen. Zachary Taylor, Gen. D. E. Twiggs, Mrs. C. O. Van Cleve, Lieut. H. P. Van Cleve, Gen. W. J. Worth, and Yellow Thunder (Winnebago chief); Agency House (Fort Winnebago); Ridgeway's painting of Fort Winnebago (2 copies); Fort Winnebago (1897); old wooden eagle (formerly over doorway of Fort Winnebago); uniform of U. S. army (1830-40); and Fifth U. S. infantry cap.

Purchased.—Autotype groups of bench and bar of Milwaukee, Madison, and Winnebago county.

Enlarged Photographs and Oil Portraits.

Andrew Jackson, Oshkosh.—Enlarged photograph of A. B. Jackson, signer of Wisconsin constitution, with autograph.

Clarence Kellogg, Madison.—Oil portrait of La Fayette Kellogg (framed).

H. E. Story, Belleville.—Enlarged photograph (framed) of Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Mass., a delegate to the continental congress, 1785-88, and the alleged author of the Ordinance of 1787. This photograph is from a painting in the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

THE MUSEUM.

As stated elsewhere, this popular department of the Society's work lags because of insufficient means. It is sincerely to be hoped that upon removal to the new building, it may take on

new life, for the museum and the gallery mean much to the Society and to the public. The following accessions have been recorded within the year:

Mrs. E. H. Benson, Madison.—Natural briar-wood pipe; a piece of the tree or scaffold upon which John Brown, anti-slavery agitator, met his death; a piece of the table off which John Brown ate his last meal—all of these having been secured in Virginia by Capt. E. H. Benson, in 1861.

James E. Colenso, Madison.—Stock of a gun said to have been carried in the Battle of the Boyne, and in the War of 1812-15.

W. E. Hall, Oconto.—Piece of shell fired at the Wisconsin troops during the battle of Coamo, Puerto Rico, and picked up by Capt. Wilbur Lee, 2d Wisconsin volunteers; Mauser cartridges taken from the body of a Spaniard, after the battle of Coamo, by Lieut. W. B. Hall, of Oconto, 2d Wisconsin volunteers; Spanish fatigue cap, also picked up after the battle of Coamo, by Lieut. W. B. Hall.

Howard Greene, Milwaukee.—Member's badge, Society of the Army of the Tennessee, 29th reunion, Milwaukee.

William H. Hobbs, Madison.—Pair of iron fire-dogs from the birth-place of John Brown, at Farrington, Conn.

John Johnston, Milwaukee.—Facsimile of *The Aberdeen Journal*, No. 1, from Tuesday, December 29, 1747, to Tuesday, January 5, 1748.

O. G. Libby, Madison.—Hand-made nails (forged at blacksmith shop on the spot) from the frame of the first grist-mill in southwestern Wisconsin—that made by Charles Hickox, at Dodgeville, for Joseph Rolette, of Prairie du Chien.

Charles R. Martin, Tiffin, Ohio.—Blank charter, constitution, blank forms, blank books, paraphernalia, etc., of the Independent Order of Knights of Labor—in a wooden case.

Otto Oehler, La Crosse.—Grape shot (weight $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.) found in 1897 on Battle Island, Mississippi River (near mouth of Bad Ax), on which the Black Hawk War was ended.

Miss H. Sewall, Stoughton.—Old-fashioned foot-stove, which formerly belonged to Mrs. Ruth (Ladd) Boyce, who came from Vermont to Wisconsin in 1837.

Daniel O'Sheridan, Madison.—Supposed meteor, weighing 18 ounces, found by Charles Roe, in town of Madison, near Sauk road; Mr. Roe saw it fall, and found it buried in the sand three feet below the surface.

George W. Stoner, Fresno, Cal.—Pair of Chinese chop-sticks.

Egbert Wyman, Madison.—Part of seal used in the department of public lands, Territory of Wisconsin.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY.

The various observances of the State's semi-centennial anniversary were in every way creditable to the commonwealth. The act

of congress admitting Wisconsin to the union of states was approved by President Polk, May 29th, 1848. As the fiftieth anniversary of that day, in 1898, fell on Sunday, and the following Monday was Memorial Day, it was decided to observe Saturday, the 28th. Acting upon the suggestion of this Society, numerous local celebrations were held at county seats and other centrally-located towns; these chiefly partook of the character of reunions of local pioneers, enlivened by papers and speeches of an historical character. At several of these meetings, steps were taken for the organization of permanent local historical societies, to co-operate with the State society.

Wisconsin's first State officers took the oath of office and commenced their duties on the seventh of June, 1848. The fiftieth anniversary of this actual birth of the State was made the occasion for a three days' celebration at Madison, lasting through the seventh, eighth, and ninth of June. The programme consisted chiefly of reunions—of the women of the State, its editors, its lawyers, its ministers of the gospel, county and city officials, pioneers who had dwelt in the Territory of Wisconsin (prior to June 7, 1848), survivors of the convention which framed the constitution of the State, and students of Wisconsin history. These several conventions were interspersed, chiefly in the evenings, with general meetings, of the people, addressed by distinguished orators; while war-song concerts, public parades, boat-races, and fireworks were also features of the celebration. The attendance at Madison, during the three beautiful days, was very large, and representative of all sections of the State. The result was greatly to stimulate public interest in the history of Wisconsin, and in general to fire the patriotic impulse of her people. This Society was naturally interested in all features of the celebration,—and had done much to contribute to their success through the publication, from time to time, of circulars of information and advice,*—but its immediate concern during the week, was in the convention of historians.

*The following semi-centennial circulars were published by the Society, and copies may be obtained from the secretary, free of charge, until the stock is exhausted:

I.—A letter to the people of Wisconsin, relative to the several proposed

Actual attendance upon all of the conventions incident to the celebration was more or less diminished by the presence of outdoor attractions. The historical meeting proved quite as successful, under the circumstances, as was anticipated, and the papers presented were uniformly excellent. Two committees were appointed thereat: one, to make preparations for a midwinter historical convention to be held at Madison late in February or early in March, 1899, consists of W. W. Wight of Milwaukee, A. A. Jackson of Janesville, Emmett R. Hicks of Oshkosh, I. C. McNeill of Superior, and Frederick J. Turner and Reuben G. Thwaites of Madison; another, to memorialize the legislature to authorize the publication of the addresses and papers presented at the celebration, consists of William F. Vilas, F. W. Oakley, Horace A. Taylor, George B. Burrows, E. W. Keyes, F. J. Turner, and R. G. Thwaites, all of Madison.

Interesting memorials of the celebration, preserved by the Society, are the registers of attendance, giving the autograph signatures of Territorial pioneers, constitutional convention delegates, members of early legislatures, and veterans of the War of Secession, who were present at the several reunions.

The observance at the capital did not end the celebration. Milwaukee, as the metropolis of the State, wished specifically to illustrate the splendid progress she had made during the fifty years of statehood, in which she had grown from the condition of an insignificant frontier village to that of a well-built and prosperous city of three hundred thousand inhabitants. During

State and county semi-centennial observances — Issued November 3, 1897; p. 1.

II.—(1.) Statutes governing local historical societies, as auxiliary members of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (2.) Suggestions for constitution and by-laws of local historical societies. (3.) Suggestions to local historical societies relative to work in preparation for county semi-centennial observances (May 23, 1898).— Issued December 1, 1897; pp. 15.

III.—A study of the foreign groups in Wisconsin.— Issued December 24, 1897; pp. 2.

IV.—(1.) Some suggestions to local historians, in view of the proposed observances of the State's semi-centennial anniversary. (2.) A selected list of printed material relating to the history of Wisconsin.— Issued February 2, 1898; pp. 22.

the week ending July second, a brilliant carnival was held there, partaking not only of the standard features of such an event, as seen yearly in New Orleans and St. Louis, but enriched with an industrial and commercial procession of an historical character. Milwaukee was, during the week, crowded with visitors from all over the Middle West, helping to celebrate the fiftieth birthday of the Badger State.

THE NEW BUILDING.

Progress upon the construction of the new home of the Society, which is being erected by the bounty of the State, has been slow, the work now being about a month behind time. At this date (December 1) the walls have been completed, except the ceiling and superstructure of the eastern loggia; the roof is being covered in, fire-proof and cement floors have been laid, and the rearing of partitions is now under way.

It will be necessary for the building commission to apply to the legislature, during the forthcoming session, for an additional appropriation with which to complete, equip, and furnish the building for occupancy. One of the most embarrassing circumstances to confront the commission has been the manner in which it has received its funds—an annual allowance of \$60,000 extending through seven years. To build by piecemeal, as the money came in, of course would have been ruinously expensive and unsatisfactory; the legislature intended that the commission should at once commence the building, to this end granting it privilege to borrow from the State trust-funds, in anticipation of its income. This method, however, involves the commission in the payment of interest to the State of over \$40,000 upon the money advanced from the trust funds, which serves to reduce the total appropriation by that amount. The heavy interest account, the quite unexpected cost of the structure as planned by the architects, and several large unanticipated extras, are the chief causes of the embarrassments which have confronted the commission, and for which it will be obliged, although unwillingly, to seek legislative relief. There is every reason to believe, however, that the legislature, after a

careful survey of the situation, will enable the commission properly to complete its task.

THE SOCIETY'S SEMI-CENTENNIAL.

1729581

"The Historical Society of Wisconsin" was organized at a meeting held in the senate chamber, the evening of January 30th, 1849. Of the 119 persons who then signed the roll, there are, so far as we are aware, but four now living—Horace A. and Henry W. Tenney, James T. Lewis, and George W. Featherstonhaugh. This society was but a revival of a Territorial Historical Society organized in October, 1846, during the first constitutional convention, but which had been allowed to lapse. The society of 1849 had a membership list embracing nearly all of the most prominent men in the new commonwealth; but it lacked vigor—there was no one who cared to spend time in its behalf; the only results were annual addresses delivered before the members in 1850, 1851, and 1852, and the accumulation of a library of fifty books, chiefly public documents, kept in the glass bookcase which in those days rested upon a table of the governor's office, and today is one of the curiosities in our museum. The Society had not disbanded—it was only sleeping—when Secretary Draper was, in 1852, imported from Philadelphia, to devote his whole time and energy to the work. A new constitution was adopted in 1853, the name was changed to "The State Historical Society of Wisconsin," an appropriation of \$500 per year was granted by the legislature, and business began in earnest in January, 1854. The story of its progress under the reorganization is as a household word, throughout the confines of this commonwealth.

Thus our Society will, a few weeks hence, have reached its fiftieth birthday. Unfortunately, the first meeting under the reorganization (January 18th, 1854) was, in the records of the time, styled the "first annual," and our yearly meetings have always been consecutively numbered therefrom; this makes the present the forty-sixth, according to the records, which is chronologically misleading, for the Society of today is the same as that organized in 1849, with but a slight change of name and

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an improved constitution. It is, however, now impossible to change this system of enumeration, without involving unnecessary confusion.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the close of the fifty-first year of the Society's existence may find it safely installed within its new home, with larger funds at its command, and already entering with fresh and vigorous zeal upon a still broader field of usefulness to the people of Wisconsin.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

REUBEN G. THWAITES,
Secretary and Superintendent.

REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE.

To the Honorable Curators of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin:—Your finance committee have the honor to respectfully report that, in conformity with the by-laws, they met with the treasurer and examined his books of accounts, securities, vouchers, and papers in his keeping connected therewith, for the current year ending November 30, 1898.

The accompanying report of the treasurer, with its schedules in detail, was fully verified in every respect. The recent change of system, requiring all accounts to be paid by the treasurer, renders the work no less than the responsibility of his office too great henceforth to impose, without a moderate compensation, which your committee recommends; the care of investments, collection of the same, and the accounting of the several funds properly distinguished, as need be, are duties worthy of your consideration.

The foreclosure of mortgage against Schoonmaker caused a transfer of that account from mortgages to real estate, thereby increasing the real estate, unproductive, to \$1,787.93, which property it is suggested should be sold at the earliest practicable opportunity.

In comparison with your committee's report for 1897, when the	
Mortgage loans amounted to.....	\$24,591 67
These securities have increased	1,158 33
Now amounting to.....	\$25,750 00
The Draper homestead (unchanged).....	2,378 14
Unproductive real estate in 1897.....	\$1,207 39
Increased Schoonmaker transfer	580 54
	<hr/>
	1,787 93
Balance of cash on hand.....	1,883 27
	<hr/>
A total of.....	\$31,799 34
Thus showing a net gain during the past year, of..	2,262 82

The apportionment of resources at this time is as follows:

To Binding Fund.....	\$28,291 54
Antiquarian Fund	3,308 69
Draper Fund.....	167 15
Binding Fund Income... ..	30 96
General Fund.....	1 00
Equals the total resources of.....	\$31,799 34
As against the year 1897.....	29,536 52
Increase net.....	\$2,262 82

Respectfully submitted,

December 8, 1898.

N. B. VAN SLYKE,

W. A. P. MORRIS,

WAYNE RAMSAY,

Finance Committee.

Messrs. Burrows and Doyon of the committee absent from town.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Report of the Treasurer for the fiscal year ending November 30th, 1898:

*General Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 10.	To received from secretary, balance un-	
	expended of appropriation for 1897..	\$310 03

1898.

Jan. 14.	To received from state treasurer, ac-	
	count of appropriation.....	2,000 00

Apr. 22.	To received from state treasurer, ac-	
	count of appropriation.....	3,000 00

		<u>\$5,310 03</u>
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The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By total of expenditures by direction of	
	secretary, as per vouchers.....	\$5,309 03

	By balance on hand	1 00
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		<u>\$5,310 03</u>
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1898.

Dec. 1.	To balance.....	\$1 00
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*Binding Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$26,511 32
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1898.

June 25.	To received from estate of Stephen Tay-	
	lor, deceased, pro rata share of legacy	\$963 98

Nov. 30.	To transfer from Binding Fund Income	
	account.....	811 24

		<u>1,780 22</u>
--	--	-----------------

		<u>\$28,291 54</u>
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The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By balance	\$28,291 54
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		<u>\$28,291 54</u>
--	--	--------------------

1898.

Dec. 1.	To balance	\$28,291 54
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*Antiquarian Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 1. To balance \$2,858 05

1898.

Nov. 30.	To transferred from Antiquarian Fund		
	Income account.....	450 64	
		<u> </u>	\$3,308 69

The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By balance.....	3,308 69	
		<u> </u>	3,308 69

Dec. 1.	To balance.....	\$3,308 69	
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*Draper Fund.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1897.

Dec. 1.	To balance.....		\$167 15
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The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By balance.....	\$167 15	
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1898.

Dec. 1.	To balance.....	\$167 15	
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Binding Income Fund Account.

1897.

Dec. 10.	To rec'd from secretary unexpended balance of appn. for 1897.....		\$76 13
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1898.

Nov. 30.	To rec'd rents (Draper homestead).....	\$352 00	
	To one-half annual dues.....	110 00	
	To one-half sales of duplicates.. ..	10 64	
	To one-half life membership fees	180 00	
	To apportionment of interest (Schedule "A")	1,340 57	1,993 21
		<u> </u>	\$2,069 34

The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.

Nov. 30.	By total of expenditures by direction of secretary, as per vouchers.....	\$1,045 17	
	By expended for repairs to Draper homestead, as per vouchers.....	181 97	

TREASURER'S REPORT.

41

	By transferred to Binding Fund.....	811 24	
	By balance of appropriation subject to expenditure by direction of secretary.	30 96	
1898.		<u> </u>	\$2,069 34
Dec. 1.	To balance	\$30 96	
		<u> </u>	

*Antiquarian Fund Income Account.**The Treasurer, Dr.*

1898.			
Nov. 30.	To one-half annual dues.....	\$110 00	
	To one-half sales of duplicates.....	10 64	
	To one-half life membership fees.....	180 00	
	To apportionment of interest (Schedule "A").....	150 00	
		<u> </u>	\$450 64

The Treasurer, Cr.

1898.			
Nov. 30.	By transferred to Antiquarian Fund...	\$450 64	
		<u> </u>	\$450 64

Inventory on December 1, 1898.

Mortgage loans (Schedule "B").....	\$25,750 00
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Real Estate.

W. J. Thompson land (Jackson Co., Wis.).....	\$1,207 39	
J. Schoonmaker lot (St. Paul, Minn.)	580 54	
Draper homestead (Madison, Wis.)..	2,378 14	
	<u> </u>	4,166 07
Cash in First National Bank.....	1,883 27	
	<u> </u>	
Total.....		\$31,799 34
Apportioned as follows:		
Binding Fund.....	\$28,291 54	
Antiquarian Fund.....	3,308 09	
Draper Fund.....	167 15	
General Fund.....	1 00	
Binding Fund Income account.....	30 96	
	<u> </u>	\$31,799 34

Respectfully submitted,

F. F. PROUDFIT,

Treasurer.

REPORT OF EXPENDITURES FROM STATE APPROPRIATION.

Treasurer's statement of expenditures from the general fund (State appropriation for 1898) of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the fiscal year ending November 30, 1898, as audited by the Finance Committee, December 5, 1898, and approved by the Executive Committee, December 8, 1898.

Receipts.

Dec. 1, '97.	Unexpended balance on hand.....	\$310 03
	Received from State Treasurer, during year.....	5,000 00
		<hr/>
		\$5,310 03
	Disbursements, as below.....	5,309 03
		<hr/>
Dec. 1, '98.	Unexpended balance, on hand.....	\$1 00

Disbursements.

Dec. 15, '97.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	\$50 00
Dec. 15, '97.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Dec. 15, '97.	Bureau of Amer. Republics, Washington, books.....	5 00
Dec. 15, '97.	C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 66
Dec. 15, '97.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00
Dec. 15, '97.	W. F. Giese, Madison, services.....	83 00
Dec. 15, '97.	T. A. Glenn, Phila., book.....	8 50
Dec. 15, '97.	A. H. Goose, Norwich, Eng., book.....	1 26
Dec. 15, '97.	Library Bureau, Chicago, book.....	2 50
Dec. 15, '97.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	24 11
Dec. 15, '97.	J. & A. McMillan, St. John, N. B., book.....	1 62
Dec. 15, '97.	Macmillan & Co., N. Y., books.....	15 25
Dec. 15, '97.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 68
Dec. 15, '97.	G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., book.....	2 00
Dec. 15, '97.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, book.....	1 00
Dec. 15, '97.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., book.....	1 66
Dec. 15, '97.	Southern Hist. Ass'n., Washington, pubs.....	3 00
Dec. 15, '97.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books.....	21 50
Dec. 15, '97.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books.....	22 14
Dec. 15, '97.	Washington Book Shop, Washington, books.....	11 50
Dec. 15, '97.	E. F. Wilson, Salt Spring Island, B. C., book.....	1 25
Dec. 15, '97.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Dec. 15, '97.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Dec. 22, '97.	Adams Stamp & Stencil Co., Milw., supplies.....	9 05
Dec. 22, '97.	Peter Fagg, Madison, book.....	2 50
Dec. 22, '97.	Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, Italy, book.....	86
Dec. 22, '97.	Hudson-Kimberly Pub. Co., Kansas City, Mo., book.....	1 50
Dec. 22, '97.	C. F. Libbie & Co., Boston, books.....	120 03
Dec. 22, '97.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books.....	23 18
Dec. 22, '97.	Otto Patzer, Madison, books.....	5 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Amer. Stat. Ass'n, Boston, pubs.....	2 00

Jan. 12, '98.	Aull & Houseal, Newberry, S. C., book.....	\$2 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Catholic Art Pub. Co., Phila., book.....	3 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, book.....	2 70
Jan. 12, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	29 18
Jan. 12, '98.	Auguste Gosselin, Quebec, Canada, book.....	1 00
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	5 08
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	9 74
Jan. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 51
Jan. 12, '98.	Northwestern Lith. Co., Milw., printing.....	25 00
Jan. 12, '98.	Observer Ptg. House, Charlotte, N. C., book....	2 95
Jan. 12, '98.	F. A. Prince, Danielson, Conn., book.....	1 25
Jan. 12, '98.	H. D. Ross, Wilmington, Del., book.....	1 00
Jan. 12, '98.	J. F. Sachse, Phila., books.....	6 00
Jan. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	24 47
Jan. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., book.....	3 29
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, book.....	1 86
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, books.....	11 78
Jan. 12, '98.	C. H. W. Stocking, Freehold, N. J., books.....	10 00
Jan. 12, '98.	G. E. Warner, Minneapolis, books.....	17 50
Jan. 12, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	13 78
Jan. 12, '98.	E. H. Blair, Madison, services.....	151 55
Jan. 12, '98.	R. G. Thwaites, sec'y, travel and incidentals....	45 83
Jan. 19, '98.	Edith Conover, Madison, services.....	64 10
Jan. 19, '98.	G. J. Lydecker, Detroit, Mich., books.....	7 23
Jan. 19, '98.	W. H. Moore, Brockport, N. Y., periodicals....	302 13
Jan. 19, '98.	Emma Runk, Lambertville, N. J., book.....	6 00
Jan. 19, '98.	I. S. Bradley, librarian, incidentals.....	2 65
Jan. 25, '98.	Amer. Hist. Ass'n, Washington, books.....	18 00
Jan. 25, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	7 84
Jan. 25, '98.	Democrat Ptg. Co., Madison, printing.....	40 38
Jan. 25, '98.	H. R. Earle, Adrian, Mich., pictures.....	10 00
Jan. 25, '98.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage.....	2 00
Jan. 25, '98.	Ginn & Co., Boston, book.....	2 00
Jan. 25, '98.	C. H. Kilmer, Breesport, N. Y., book.....	2 50
Jan. 25, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	13 75
Jan. 25, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	70 03
Jan. 25, '98.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, books.....	2 85
Jan. 25, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, book.....	1 62
Jan. 25, '98.	B. C. Steiner, Baltimore, Md., book.....	2 50
Jan. 25, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Jan. 25, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Jan. 25, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Jan. 25, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
Jan. 25, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Jan. 25, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Jan. 26, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	2 46
Feb. 2, '98.	B. L. Blair Co., Indianapolis, Ind., books.....	8 10
Feb. 2, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 22
Feb. 2, '98.	C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	9 71
Feb. 2, '98.	A. J. Fretz, Milton, N. J., books.....	4 10
Feb. 2, '98.	Phileas Gagnon, Quebec, Canada, books.....	17 50
Feb. 2, '98.	W. F. Giese, Madison, services.....	39 00
Feb. 2, '98.	R. E. Gosnell, Victoria, B. C., book.....	1 70
Feb. 2, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 17
Feb. 2, '98.	Edward Roth, Phila., books.....	5 00
Feb. 24, '98.	C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	5 21
Feb. 24, '98.	M. D. Fullerton, Chillicothe, O., book.....	1 25
Feb. 24, '98.	John Hertzler, Port Royal, Pa., book.....	1 25
Feb. 24, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	9 50
Feb. 24, '98.	Alphonse Leclaire, Montreal, Canada, books....	13 17
Feb. 24, '98.	M. W. McAlarney, Harrisburg, Pa., book.....	5 00

Feb. 24, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	\$8 46
Feb. 24, '98.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, books.....	9 25
Feb. 24, '98.	Pierre Georges Roy, Levis, Canada, books.....	11 00
Feb. 24, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Feb. 24, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Feb. 24, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Feb. 24, '98.	A. A. Nunn, Madison, services.....	16 68
Feb. 24, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Feb. 24, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Mch. 8, '98.	Amer. Library Ass'n, Salem, Mass., pubs.....	4 00
Mch. 8, '98.	G. W. Bell, Charleston, S. C., books.....	5 00
Mch. 8, '98.	W. A. Ferguson & Co., Elmira, N. Y., books.....	6 50
Mch. 8, '98.	Holy Child Ind. Sch., Harbor Springs, Mich., book.....	1 70
Mch. 8, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	7 20
Mch. 8, '98.	A. Leflingweil, Aurora, N. Y., books.....	5 00
Mch. 8, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	14 19
Mch. 8, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	7 12
Mch. 8, '98.	O. N. Nelson, Minneapolis, Minn., book.....	2 00
Mch. 8, '98.	P. Rosen, Madison, book.....	2 20
Mch. 8, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	112 73
Mch. 8, '98.	So. Hist. Society, Richmond, Va., pubs.....	3 00
Mch. 8, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, books.....	6 10
Mch. 23, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	3 87
Mch. 23, '98.	I. C. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	8 51
Mch. 23, '98.	Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., books.....	3 00
Mch. 23, '98.	Loyal Legion, Indianapolis, Ind., books.....	2 00
Mch. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	3 29
Mch. 23, '98.	Mrs. M. Perley-Martin, Ottawa, Canada, book...	50
Mch. 23, '98.	Publishers' Weekly, New York, book.....	3 50
Mch. 23, '98.	Mrs. J. S. Ritson, Columbus, Ohio, books.....	50 00
Mch. 23, '98.	Pierre-Georges Roy, Levis, Canada, book.....	2 12
Mch. 23, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., book.....	1 75
Mch. 23, '98.	T. M. Thorpe, New York, books.....	18 50
Mch. 23, '98.	University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, book...	1 12
Mch. 30, '98.	Arch. Inst. of Amer. (Wis. Soc.), Madison, pubs.	10 00
Mch. 30, '98.	Cleveland Public Library, book.....	5 00
Mch. 30, '98.	G. P. Humphrey, Rochester, N. Y., book.....	3 00
Mch. 30, '98.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage.....	2 50
Mch. 30, '98.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book.....	7 48
Mch. 30, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Mch. 30, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00
Mch. 30, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Mch. 30, '98.	A. A. Nunn, Madison, services.....	16 68
Mch. 30, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Mch. 30, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Apr. 14, '98.	Avril Printing Co., Phila., book.....	1 25
Apr. 14, '98.	William Briggs, Toronto, Canada, books.....	3 14
Apr. 14, '98.	Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Cambridge, books.....	6 00
Apr. 14, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	59 36
Apr. 14, '98.	Maine Bugle, Rockland, Me., books.....	5 50
Apr. 14, '98.	New England Pub. Co., Boston, book.....	1 50
Apr. 26, '98.	J. D. Caldwell, Knoxville, Tenn., book.....	2 00
Apr. 26, '98.	Henry E. Legler, Milw., book.....	2 00
Apr. 26, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	22 56
Apr. 26, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	43 02
Apr. 26, '98.	G. E. Stechert, New York, books.....	124 83
Apr. 26, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Apr. 26, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Apr. 26, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services.....	45 00
Apr. 26, '98.	A. E. Braley, Madison, services.....	25 00

Apr. 26, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	\$20 00
Apr. 26, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
May 11, '98.	Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland, books.....	8 45
May 11, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 45
May 11, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	2 50
May 11, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	41 62
May 11, '98.	Morton, Bliss & Co., New York, pubs.....	5 00
May 11, '98.	Dana C. Munro, Phila., pubs.....	1 00
May 25, '98.	W. S. Armorer, Harrisburg, Pa., books.....	8 95
May 25, '98.	Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., book.....	1 10
May 25, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	7 06
May 25, '98.	G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, books.....	8 00
May 25, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	26 99
May 25, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
May 25, '98.	Mary S. Foster, Madison, services.....	15 00
May 25, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
May 25, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
May 25, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
June 10, '98.	F. W. Arthur, Madison, services.....	21 00
June 10, '98.	H. H. Bennett, Kilbourn City, pictures.....	6 00
June 10, '98.	Mitchell Constant, Madison, book.....	2 00
June 10, '98.	Egypt Exploration Fund, Boston, books.....	5 00
June 10, '98.	Nathan Gould, Portland, Me., books.....	2 00
June 10, '98.	Arnold H. Harris, Holmesburg, Pa., book.....	3 00
June 10, '98.	Linseott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book.....	7 48
June 10, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	10 18
June 10, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	1 67
June 10, '98.	B. L. Morgan, Janesville, book.....	12 00
June 10, '98.	G. A. Ogle & Co., Chicago, book.....	7 50
June 10, '98.	Old Corner Book Store, Springfield, Mass., books.....	14 93
June 10, '98.	F. C. Pierce, Chicago, book.....	7 50
June 10, '98.	B. F. Stevens, London, Eng., book.....	22 00
June 27, '98.	H. M. Burt, Springfield, Mass., books.....	5 00
June 27, '98.	Anna R. des Cognets, Lexington, Ky., book.....	3 00
June 27, '98.	Colonial Society of Pa., Phila., book.....	5 00
June 27, '98.	Helman-Taylor Co., Cleveland, book.....	5 00
June 27, '98.	I. C. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	4 10
June 27, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	4 63
June 27, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	5 75
June 27, '98.	G. F. Tudor Sherwood, London, Eng., books.....	4 25
June 27, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
June 27, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
June 27, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	15 00
June 27, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
June 27, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 63
June 23, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	52 63
June 23, '98.	Hu Maxwell, Beverly, W. Va., book.....	2 00
July 20, '98.	Amer. Ass'n Adv. of Science, Salem, Mass., book.....	1 87
July 20, '98.	Keeley, Neckerman & Kessenich, Madison, sup- plies.....	2 80
July 20, '98.	Carl A. Lewis, Elliott, Conn., book.....	2 00
July 20, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	11 24
July 20, '98.	S. J. Lyon, Madison, book.....	1 50
July 20, '98.	Raoul Renault, Quebec, Canada, book.....	1 25
July 20, '98.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. and supt., travel.....	64 93
July 20, '98.	I. S. Bradley, lib'n and asst. supt., travel.....	58 55
July 27, '98.	D. Appleton & Co., Chicago, book.....	6 00
July 27, '98.	The Book Shop, Chicago, books.....	4 50
July 27, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	8 24
July 27, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
July 27, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00

July 27, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	\$50 00
July 27, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
July 27, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Aug. 3, '98.	Hayes, Cooke & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 58
Aug. 3, '98.	Sound Currency Committee, N. Y., books.....	5 10
Aug. 3, '98.	James T. White & Co., N. Y., book.....	8 00
Aug. 3, '98.	G. E. Stechert, N. Y., books.....	8 13
Aug. 31, '98.	C. M. & St. P. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	1 80
Aug. 31, '98.	E. R. Curtiss, Madison, pictures.....	1 00
Aug. 31, '98.	C. M. Dengler, Madison, services.....	1 00
Aug. 31, '98.	H. C. Gerling, Madison, drayage.....	6 00
Aug. 31, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, book.....	5 00
Aug. 31, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	23 48
Aug. 31, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	4 50
Aug. 31, '98.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., book.....	2 35
Aug. 31, '98.	C. L. Roper, High Point, N. C., book.....	1 50
Aug. 31, '98.	S. C. Stuntz, Madison, services.....	19 65
Aug. 31, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Aug. 31, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Aug. 31, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00
Aug. 31, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Aug. 31, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 66
Sept. 14, '98.	Robert Clarke Co., Cincinnati, O., book.....	2 70
Sept. 14, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, books.....	11 30
Sept. 14, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	6 82
Sept. 14, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 10
Sept. 14, '98.	L. N. Thompson, Louisville, Ky., book.....	3 75
Sept. 23, '98.	Amer. Econ. Ass'n, Ithaca, N. Y., pubs.....	3 00
Sept. 23, '98.	Amer. Hist. Ass'n, N. Y., pubs.....	3 00
Sept. 23, '98.	C. G. Chamberlayne, Richmond, Va., book.....	3 00
Sept. 23, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight.....	3 23
Sept. 23, '98.	Johanna Dennehy, Paris, France, services.....	9 68
Sept. 23, '98.	Stelia D. Gregg, Hamilton, Ill., book.....	3 00
Sept. 23, '98.	Linscott Pub. Co., Toronto, Canada, book.....	7 00
Sept. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, book.....	1 19
Sept. 23, '98.	W. G. MacFarlane, St. John, N. B., book.....	50
Sept. 23, '98.	Publishers' Weekly, N. Y., book.....	2 00
Sept. 23, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00
Sept. 23, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services.....	50 00
Sept. 23, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services.....	30 00
Sept. 23, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services.....	20 00
Sept. 23, '98.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services.....	18 33
Sept. 23, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services.....	16 68
Oct. 12, '98.	T. A. Bingham, Washington, book.....	9 00
Oct. 12, '98.	L. H. Bunnell, Homer, Minn., book.....	2 00
Oct. 12, '98.	Catholic Hist. Pub. Co., Milwaukee, book.....	5 00
Oct. 12, '98.	Egypt Expl. Fund. Boston, book.....	5 00
Oct. 12, '98.	G. E. Littlefield, Boston, book.....	2 25
Oct. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, freight.....	26 75
Oct. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	9 22
Oct. 12, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	31 26
Oct. 12, '98.	Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N. Y., books.....	6 65
Oct. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	29 81
Oct. 12, '98.	H. Sotheran & Co., London, Eng., books.....	66 62
Oct. 12, '98.	R. G. Thwaites, secy. and supt., travel.....	16 80
Oct. 26, '98.	J. R. Berryman, Madison, books.....	10 00
Oct. 26, '98.	Funk & Wagnalls Co., N. Y., books.....	6 05
Oct. 26, '98.	Blanch Harper, Madison, pictures.....	3 75
Oct. 26, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books.....	15 71
Oct. 26, '98.	Macmillan Company, N. Y., book.....	1 46
Oct. 26, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services.....	50 00

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Oct. 26, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	\$50 00
Oct. 26, '98.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Oct. 26, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Oct. 26, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	20 00
Oct. 26, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66
Nov. 23, '98.	I. S. Bradley, lib'n, supplies	3 70
Nov. 23, '98.	A. S. Clark, N. Y., periodicals	3 71
Nov. 23, '98.	Le Cultivateur, Marlboro, Mass., books	1 00
Nov. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	10 53
Nov. 23, '98.	A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, books	2 36
Nov. 23, '98.	G. E. Warner, Minneapolis, Minn., books	25 55
Nov. 23, '98.	C. & N. W. Ry. Co., Madison, freight	7 23
Nov. 23, '98.	F. E. Baker, Madison, services	50 00
Nov. 23, '98.	E. A. Hawley, Madison, services	50 00
Nov. 23, '98.	G. R. Sheldon, Madison, services	50 00
Nov. 23, '98.	C. G. Price, Madison, services	45 00
Nov. 23, '98.	M. S. Foster, Madison, services	30 00
Nov. 23, '98.	I. A. Welsh, Madison, services	20 00
Nov. 23, '98.	A. A. Nunns, Madison, services	16 66

 \$5,309 03

REPORT OF DRAPER HOMESTEAD COMMITTEE.

Hon. Curators of the State Historical Society: Your Draper Homestead Committee has briefly to make its annual report as follows, for 1898:

There has been collected for rent of premises		\$352 00
Paid for insurance.	\$12 00	
Paid for repairs made.....	181 97	
	<hr/>	193 97
Leaving a balance in the treasury of.....		\$158 03

The premises being somewhat old, and much out of repair, it was deemed necessary, in order to secure good tenants or a purchaser, that the property should be put in a fair condition. The house, inside and out, the walks, drains, sewer connections, etc., have been put in such repair as economy would permit, and is now offered for rental or sale. Vouchers for the above are with the treasurer, and are by him duly accounted for.

Respectfully submitted,

N. B. VAN SLYKE, Chm.,

R. G. THWAITES.

December 8, 1898.

REPORT OF STATE HISTORICAL COMMISSIONER.

To the State Historical Society of Wisconsin: By chapter 289, laws of 1897, the undersigned, appointed by that law State Commissioner for the purposes therein stated, is required to make an annual report to the State Historical Society of his action as such commissioner. In accordance with this requirement, an annual report was submitted Dec. 1, 1897, and published in the printed proceedings of the State Historical Society at its forty-fifth annual meeting, held Dec. 9th and 16th, 1897. That report covered the action of the commissioner in the preliminary work of awakening interest in the then approaching semi-centennial celebration of statehood. In this report it remains to make up the record of the results of the efforts outlined in the former report.

Under the general direction of Hon. Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society, and the cordial co-operation of the several gentlemen called to act upon the consulting and advisory board, the measures for organizing local historical societies, interesting individuals and communities in historical inquiry, and promoting historical study and research in public schools, was carried on with as much diversity and effectiveness as the time at command warranted. As stated in the report of 1897, circulars were extensively distributed, outlining the method and scope of historical papers to be prepared by pupils in the public schools; and measures were taken for holding an educational meeting in Madison, in connection with the semi-centennial celebration. Hon. W. C. Whitford, president of Milton College, and ex-state superintendent of Wisconsin, was invited to deliver the principal address, and other addresses were made by Prof. J. W. Stearns, of the State University, President D. McGregor, of the Platteville State Normal School, President Albert Salisbury, of the State Normal School at Whitewater, Prof. J. D. Butler, of Madison, and Hon. W. H. Chandler, State inspector of high schools. This meeting attracted a fine assembly of leading educators and citizens from various localities in the State. President C. K. Adams, of the State University,

presided at the meeting. The addresses were able, timely, and appropriate, and commanded interest, attention, and high commendation. The papers presented at this meeting have been deposited in the archives of the State Historical Society.

A set of diaries, kept by ex-Senator George A. Jenkins, of Fort Atkinson, extending through more than forty years, ending in 1896, has been procured from his daughters, Mrs. Emma J. Curtis, of Milwaukee, and Miss Agnes Jenkins, of Sturgeon Bay, and presented to the State Historical Society. Mr. Jenkins was a member of the legislature from Calumet county during the period of the civil war. He was formerly a resident of New York, and some of the earlier diaries appear to have been written while a resident of that state. One feature of these diaries is, that they contain a record of the temperature, marked morning, noon, and evening, each day for more than forty years.

As a result of the interest awakened, and attention secured on the part of public schools, the following list of papers prepared by pupils have reached the commissioner, for deposit with the State Historical Society, a day having been designated on or before which such papers were to be placed in his custody for that purpose:

1. History of the Public Schools of Beaver Dam.
2. Six papers from school districts of six different towns in Sauk County, Wis.
3. History of the town of Richfield, Washington County, Wis.
 1. History of the Dodgeville school, Dodgeville, Iowa County, Wis.
5. A series of six papers, entitled as follows, all relating to interests and places in Lincoln County, Wis.: (a) Lumber in Lincoln County; (b) History of the Schools of the City of Merrill; (c) History of Country Schools; (d) History of the Indians; (e) Political History of Lincoln County; (f) Military History of Lincoln County.
6. A Glimpse of the History of Wauwatosa.
7. Brief History of Manitowoc County.
8. A series of twelve papers entitled: "Early Settlers of Beloit."
9. A series of twelve papers entitled: "History of Beloit College."
10. A series of seventeen papers upon the history of towns, cities, and school districts in Dane County, Wisconsin,

These, however, represent but a small part of the results obtained by the efforts. To my personal knowledge, many schools

and committees observed the day for the presentation of papers and addresses, which have not reported to the commissioner. The educational value of these efforts has been very great. Many individuals and communities have been initiated into wise and effective means of securing, treating, and preserving data of historic value, and many localities rich in historic lore have been discovered. Thus, a wide, productive, and fascinating field for research and for promoting literary activity has been opened. The possibilities in these directions are almost without limit; and if these initiatory and preparatory exercises are followed by wise and judicious subsequent treatment, the advantages to the schools, to the state, and to the interests of historical research, must be apparent and pronounced.

Respectfully submitted,

J. Q. EMERY,
Commissioner.

Madison, Wis., Dec. 1, 1898.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

[INCLUDING DUPLICATES.]

Givers	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Adams, Mrs. Mary M., Madison.....	1	.....
Adler, S. L., Rochester, N. Y.....	.....	1
Albert, G. D., Latrobe, Pa.....	2	.....
Allen, Mrs. Margaret A., Madison.....	4	.....
American antiquarian society, Worcester, Mass.....	2	.....
anti-vivisection society, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
board of commis. for foreign missions, Bos- ton.....	2	.....
book company, New York.....	1	.....
congregational association, Boston.....	.....	1
economic association, New York.....	3	.....
geographical society, New York.....	4	.....
missionary society, New York.....	1	.....
museum of natural history, New York.....	2	1
numismatic and archaeological society, New York.....	.....	1
philosophical society, Philadelphia.....	5	1
Amherst college, Amherst, Mass.....	.....	1
Anderson, Mrs. J. S., Manitowoc.....	.....	1
Anderson, Rasmus B., Madison*.....	7	22
Andover (Mass.) theological seminary.....	.....	1
Andrews, Byron, New York.....	3	.....
Andrews, C. C., St. Paul, Minn.....	1	.....
Andrews, Frank D., Vineland, N. J.....	.....	3
Anthony, Miss Susan B., Rochester, N. Y.....	1	11
Armour institute, Chicago.....	1	.....
Augustana college, Rock Island, Ill.....	.....	1
Austin, John O., Providence, R. I.....	1	.....
Ayer, Edward E., Chicago.....	3	.....
Ayer, Mrs. Edward E., Chicago.....	1	.....
Bain, James, Jr., Toronto.....	2	2
Baker, Miss Florence E., Madison.....	2	20
Baker, Mrs. H. T., Berlin.....	1	.....
Baltimore Sun.....	1	.....
Barnard, C. H., Lincoln, Nebr.....	1	.....
Barnes, Charles R., Madison.....	36	.....
Barnwell, James G., Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Beauchamp, William M., Baldwinsville, N. Y.....	.....	1
Beckwith, A. C. and E. S., Elkhorn.....	92	225
Beddall, M. M., Madison.....	4	.....
Beer, William, New Orleans.....	.....	1
Beloit college, Beloit.....	.....	2
Bent, Allen H., Boston.....	1	1
Berryman, John R., Madison.....	1	.....
Bestor, O. P., Evansville.....	7	.....
Birtwell, Charles W., Boston.....	.....	1
Blair, Miss E. H., Madison.....	1	27

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Blair, Thomas B., Neenah.....	5	125
Blomberg, Anton, Stockholm, Sweden.....	2	.....
Blount, Mrs. Alice S., Milton.....	1	7
Board of international exchanges, Sydney, N. S. W.....	1	.....
Boston associated charities.....	.....	2
board of overseers of the poor.....	.....	1
city auditor.....	1	.....
home for aged women.....	.....	1
public library.....	1	3
young men's christian union.....	1	.....
Bowdoin college, Brunswick, Me.....	.....	5
library.....	.....	42
Boycott, Walter J., La Crosse.....	1	.....
Boyle, David, Toronto.....	.....	2
Bradley, I. S., Madison.....	3	10
Braley, Mrs. A. E., Madison.....	89	42
Bramwood, J. W., Indianapolis, Ind.....	.....	1
Brant, S. A., Madison.....	1	.....
Brigham, Willard I. T., Chicago.....	.....	1
British Columbia, library of the legislative assembly, Victoria.....	2	6
Brooklyn (N. Y.) civil service commission.....	1	.....
health department.....	1	.....
public library.....	.....	1
Brophy, Thomas C., Boston.....	.....	3
Brown, Francis H., Boston.....	.....	3
Brown, Frank G., Madison.....	10	30
Brown university, Providence, R. I.....	.....	1
Brymner, Douglas, Ottawa.....	1	.....
Buffalo county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Buffalo (N. Y.) historical society.....	.....	3
public library.....	.....	4
Bulger, A. E., Montreal.....	1	9
Bunker Hill monument association, Boston.....	16	8
Burdick, Charles W., Cheyenne, Wyo.....	.....	1
Bureau of American republics, Washington, D. C.....	11	.....
Burnett county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, Ohio.....	24	.....
Butler, E. H., & Co., Philadelphia.....	1	.....
Butler, James D., Madison.....	3	3
Butte (Mont.) free public library.....	2	.....
California insurance commissioner, San Francisco.....	2	2
university, Berkeley.....	.....	4
Calkins, F. W., Wyoming.....	3	.....
Calvert, R., La Crosse.....	.....	1
Cambridge (Mass.) public library.....	2	5
Camp, Arthur K., Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Camp, D. N., Hartford, Conn.....	1	.....
Camp, H. H., Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Campbell, John, Westminster, Ont.....	.....	4
Campbell, Mrs. M. L., Neenah.....	6	.....
Canada auditor general, Ottawa.....	1	.....
department of agriculture, Ottawa.....	5	.....
government statistician, Ottawa.....	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Canadian institute, Toronto.....	11	3
Carnegie free library, Alleghany, Pa.....		1
Cedar Rapids (Iowa) free public library.....		1
Chamberlin, Thomas C., Chicago.....		1
Chandler, W. H., Madison.....	6	
Charleston (S. C.) mayor.....	6	
Cheever, R. W., Clinton.....		1
Chicago & Northwestern railway company.....		6
board of trade.....	1	
bureau of associated charities.....		1
college of law.....		1
historical society.....		1
public library.....		1
sanitary district.....		42
sunset club.....		6
university.....	1	
Cincinnati public library.....		1
Clark, W. B., Baltimore, Md.....	1	
Claypole, E. W., Akron, Ohio.....		1
Cleveland (Ohio) city clerk.....	3	
public library.....		3
Cochran, J. W., Madison.....	1	
Cole, George W., New York.....		1
Collie, Mrs. R. J., Merrill.....		2
Colorado insurance department, Denver.....	5	
secretary of state, Denver.....	5	
state board of charities, Denver.....		5
state historical and natural history society, Denver.....		6
state penitentiary, Canon City.....	1	
Columbia historical society, Washington, D. C.....		1
university, N. Y.....	1	2
geological department.....		4
Concordia college, Milwaukee.....		1
Congdon, G. E., Waterman, Ill.....		4
Connecticut bureau of labor statistics, Norwich.....	1	
historical society, Hartford.....		1
Conover, Miss Edith, Madison.....	34	18
Conover, Mrs. F. K., Madison.....	16	
Cornell university library, Ithaca, N. Y.....	1	1
Cones, Elliott, Washington, D. C.....	1	
Courtenay, William A., Newry, S. C.....	2	1
Crawford county board of supervisors.....		1
Crisp, F. A., London, Eng.....	1	
Crofton, F. Blake, Halifax, N. S.....		1
Cudmore, Patrick, Faribault, Minn.....		1
Custer, Mrs. Elizabeth B., New York.....		1
Dane county board of supervisors.....		1
Daniells, Mrs. W. W., Madison.....	3	3
Dante society, Cambridge, Mass.....		1
Dartmouth college, Hanover, N. H.....	1	1
Daughters of the American revolution, general society, N. Y.....	1	
Davis, Andrew M., Cambridge, Mass.....		1

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Dawson, S. E., Ottawa	1	.....
Dayton (Ohio) public library.....	.....	1
Dedham (Mass.) historical society.....	2	.....
Delaware historical society, Wilmington.....	.....	2
Democrat printing company, Madison.....	5	.....
Denissen, Christian, Detroit, Mich.....	1	.....
Detroit (Mich.) public library.....	.....	1
Devron, Gustave, New Orleans .....	.....	2
District of Columbia health department, Washington.....	.....	1
Dodge, Joseph T., Madison.....	3	3
Dodge county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Dover (N. H.) public library.....	.....	1
Draper estate.....	1	.....
Drew theological seminary, Madison, N. J.....	.....	1
Dunn county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Durham, Cora B., Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Durrett, Reuben T., Louisville, Ky.....	1	.....
Eames, Wilberforce, New York	1	.....
Egypt exploration fund, London.....	2	.....
Eimon, Chris., Superior.....	1	.....
Elisha Mitchell scientific society, Chapel Hill, N. C.....	.....	1
Ellis, Mrs. Mary, Peshtigo.....	1	.....
Ely, Richard T., Madison*.....	.....	4
Emery, J. Q., Madison.....	2	16
Enoch Pratt free library, Baltimore, Md.....	.....	2
Essex institute, Salem, Mass.....	6	.....
Evans, Clinton B., Chicago.....	1	.....
Evening Post publishing company, New York.....	2	.....
Evening Telegram, West Superior.....	.....	16
Fairmount Park art association, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Fay, L. M., Madison.....	55	6
Field Columbian museum, Chicago.....	.....	3
Finley, W. W., Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
Fitchburg (Mass.) historical society.....	1	.....
Florence county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
Foote, Allen R., Takoma Park, D. C.....	.....	1
Forbes library, Northampton, Mass.....	.....	1
Foster, Mrs. M. C., Madison.....	2	.....
Frankenburger, D. B., Madison*.....	.....	.....
Franklin institute, Philadelphia.....	4	.....
Frederick, William, Leavenworth, Kans.....	1	.....
Freeman, John C., Madison.....	1	.....
Free society library, San Francisco.....	.....	11
Friedenwald, Herbert, Washington, D. C.....	.....	1
Friends' yearly meeting, Philadelphia.....	.....	1
Froseth, John, Washburn.....	.....	1
Gagnon, Ernest, Quebec.....	1	.....
Gale, Mrs. J. S., Greeley, Colo.....	.....	1
Ganong, William F., Northampton, Mass.....	.....	3
Gates, Horatio Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Georgia university, Atlanta.....	1	.....
Girard college, Philadelphia.....	1	.....

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets,
Goddard, Louis A., Madison.....	1	.....
Goemaere, Joseph, Brussels, Belgium.....	1	.....
Goodwin, John S., Chicago.....	1	.....
Goold, Nathan, Portland, Me.....	.....	6
Gould, S. C., Manchester, N. H.....	.....	1
Grand army of the republic, Wisconsin dep't.....	1	2
Grant county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Graves, Francis P., Laramie, Wyo.....	.....	2
Graves, S. H., Racine.....	1	.....
Green, Samuel A., Boston.....	14	171
Green, Samuel S., Worcester, Mass.....	.....	1
Green Bay. Kellogg library.....	1	.....
Green county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Green Lake county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Grosvenor public library, Buffalo, N. Y.....	.....	8
Guiding Star publishing house, Chicago.....	1	27
Guinn, J. M., Los Angeles, Cal.....	.....	1
Hahnemann hospital, Chicago.....	1	.....
Hamel, T. E., Quebec.....	.....	5
Hamilton college library, Clinton, N. Y.....	.....	2
Hamilton (Ont.) public library.....	.....	1
Hancock, William S., Trenton, N. J.....	1	.....
Hanna, H. H., Indianapolis, Ind.....	1	2
Harris, D., St. Catharines, Ont.....	1	.....
Hartford (Conn.) city clerk.....	1	.....
Harvard medical alumni association, Boston.....	.....	1
university, Cambridge, Mass.....	2	.....
library.....	.....	2
physical geography laboratory.....	.....	2
Haskins, Charles H., Madison.....	.....	1
Hastings, Hugh, Albany, N. Y.....	.....	1
Hastings, S. D., Green Bay.....	.....	1
Hawkins, Rush C., New York.....	1	.....
Hayes, Charles W., Phelps, N. Y.....	1	.....
Hayes, Everett A., Eden Vale, Cal.....	.....	9
Heidelberg university.....	6	.....
Helena (Mont.) public library.....	.....	2
Hinsdale, Burke A., Ann Arbor, Mich.....	.....	2
Hinton, John W., Milwaukee.....	.....	656
Historical and philosophical society of Ohio, Cincinnati.....	.....	1
Historical and scientific society of Manitoba, Winnipeg.....	.....	3
Hoe, Richard, Milwaukee.....	1	.....
Holland society of New York.....	1	.....
Horne, Samuel B., Hartford, Conn.....	4	.....
Hosmer, James K., Minneapolis, Minn.....	.....	1
Huling, R. G., Cambridge, Mass.....	.....	9
Hunter, W. H., Steubenville, Ohio.....	1	3
Hutcheson, David, Washington, D. C.....	.....	2
Illinois auditor of public accounts, Springfield.....	.....	4
bureau of labor statistics, Springfield.....	1	.....
factory inspectors, Springfield.....	.....	1
insurance superintendent, Springfield.....	1	.....
railroad and warehouse commission, Springfield.....	4	.....
society of engineers and surveyors, Peoria.....	.....	1

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Illinois state board of charities, Springfield.....	1	.....
state treasurer, Springfield.....	2	2
state university, Champaign.....	4	22
library.....	3	.....
Indiana academy of science, Indianapolis.....	1	.....
auditor of state, Indianapolis.....	8	.....
board of state charities, Indianapolis.....	3	12
department of geology, Indianapolis.....	1	.....
Indian rights association, Philadelphia.....	.....	2
Instituto geologico de Mexico, City of Mexico.....	1	.....
Iowa auditor of state, Des Moines.....	2	.....
bureau of labor, Des Moines.....	1	.....
geological survey, Des Moines.....	1	.....
historical society, Des Moines.....	1	1
masonic library, Cedar Rapids.....	1	1
railroad commis-ioner, Des Moines.....	1	.....
state library, Des Moines.....	1	.....
university, Iowa City.....	.....	1
Ishikubo, G., Madison.....	.....	21
Jackson, Miss A. B., North Adams, Mass.....	.....	1
Jackson county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
James, Edmund J., Chicago.....	.....	1
Jefferson county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
Jefferson high school library.....	.....	1
Jersey City (N. J.) free public library.....	.....	3
Jewish historical society, Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
John Crerar library, Chicago.....	.....	3
Johns Hopkins university, Baltimore.....	3	.....
Johnston, John, Milwaukee.....	1	1
Johnston, William P., New Orleans.....	1	.....
Jones, A. E., Montreal.....	1	2
Jones, J. A. Kinghorn, San Francisco.....	.....	6
Jones, John P., Columbus, Ohio.....	1	.....
Jones, S. M., Toledo, Ohio.....	.....	1
Jordan, David S., Palo Alto, Cal.....	.....	1
Kansas board of railroad commissioners, Topeka.....	1	.....
bureau of labor, Topeka.....	1	.....
secretary of state, Topeka.....	7	.....
state board of health, Topeka.....	12	.....
state historical society, Topeka.....	.....	1
state penitentiary, Topeka.....	1	.....
university, Lawrence.....	10	1
Kansas City (Mo.) public library.....	.....	1
Kemper Hall, Kenosha.....	.....	1
Kennett, W. L., La Crosse.....	58	.....
Kentucky auditor of public accounts, Frankfort.....	9	.....
bureau of agriculture, labor and statistics, Louisville.....	1	.....
railroad commission, Frankfort.....	4	.....
Kidd, Edward I., Madison.....	1	.....
Kilmer, C. H., Breesport, N. Y.....	1	.....
Knowles, W. P., Richmond, Va.....	.....	1
Kuhn, Henry, New York.....	.....	2
Labor exchange association, Independence, Mo.....	1	8

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
La Boule, Joseph S., St. Francis.....	.....	1
La Crosse city clerk.....	.....	2
Ladd, W. P., Mineral Point.....	.....	6
Lafayette county board of supervisors.....	.....	2
Lake Erie and Ohio River ship canal company, Pittsburg.....	1	.....
Lake Mohonk (N. Y.) arbitration conference.....	.....	1
Lambing, A. A., Pittsburg, Pa.....	.....	1
Langlade county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Laval university, Quebec.....	3	.....
Lawrence, Philip, Pierre, S. D.....	.....	1
Lawrence university, Appleton.....	.....	3
quarterly, Lawrence, Kans.....	.....	54
Legal Intelligencer, Philadelphia.....	1	.....
Legler, Henry E., Milwaukee.....	14	92
Leipziger, Henry M., New York.....	.....	1
Leland Stanford, Jr., university, Palo Alto, Cal.....	.....	8
Libby, C. A., Evansville.....	.....	1
Libby, Orin G., Madison.....	3	.....
Lindsay, Crawford, Quebec.....	5	37
Lord, Eleanor L., Baltimore.....	1	.....
Louisiana adjutant general, Baton Rouge.....	1	.....
Lovejoy, A. P., Janesville.....	1	.....
Lyman, F. H., Kenosha.....	7	.....
McConachie, Lauros G., Madison.....	1	.....
McDonough, John T., Albany, N. Y.....	1	.....
MacFarlane, W. G., St. John, N. B.....	.....	1
McGill university library, Montreal.....	.....	12
McMaster, S. W., Rock Island, Ill.....	1	.....
McMillan, James, Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
MacMillan & Co., New York.....	4	.....
McMynn, J. G., Madison.....	4	.....
Madison city water works.....	.....	1
Main, Willett S., Madison.....	.....	1
Maine bureau of industrial labor statistics, Augusta.....	1	.....
first cavalry association, Rockland.....	4	.....
state board of health, Augusta.....	4	.....
state library, Augusta.....	3	.....
Maltz, George L., Lansing, Mich.....	1	.....
Manchester (Eng.) literary and philosophical society.....	8	.....
Manitoba Gazette, Winnipeg.....	2	.....
Manitowoc county board of supervisors.....	.....	1
Marquette college, Milwaukee.....	.....	1
Martin, Charles R., Tiffin, Ohio.....	2	.....
Maryland historical society, Baltimore.....	.....	1
Massachusetts adjutant general, Boston.....	11	.....
auditor, Boston.....	7	.....
board of commiss. of savings banks, Bos- ton.....	2	.....
board of education, Boston.....	4	.....
board of health, Boston.....	2	.....
bureau of statistics of labor, Boston.....	4	.....
civil service commission, Boston.....	.....	1
commissioners of prisons, Boston.....	12	1
commissioners of public records, Boston.....	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS -- Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Massachusetts gas and electric light commissioners, Boston.....	3	.....
general hospital, Boston.....		1
governor, Boston.....		8
highway commission, Boston.....	1	.....
horticultural society, Boston.....		4
institute of technology, Boston.....	2	.....
railroad commissioners, Boston.....	1	.....
school for feeble-minded, Waverley.....		5
secretary of commonwealth, Boston.....	3	.....
secretary of state, Boston.....	1	.....
state board of arbitration, Boston.....	2	.....
state board of health, Boston.....	1	.....
state board of lunacy and charity, Bos ton.....	1	.....
state library, Boston.....	16	4
tax commissioner, Boston.....	22	.....
Mead, Edwin D., Boston.....		14
Meyer, B. H., Madison.....		1
Michigan adjutant general, Lansing.....	3	6
auditor general, Lansing.....	6	.....
commissioner of railroads, Lansing.....	1	.....
insurance department, Lansing.....	1	.....
labor bureau, Lansing.....	2	.....
state agricultural college, Lansing.....	1	.....
state board of corrections and charities, Lan sing.....	2	.....
state board of education, Lansing.....		4
state board of health, Lansing.....	3	.....
state library, Lansing.....	36	.....
superintendent of public instruction, Lansing	3	.....
university, Ann Arbor.....	2	2
Military order loyal legion U. S., California commandery.....		24
Iowa commandery.....		1
Kansas commandery.....		11
Missouri commandery.....		2
Ohio commandery.....		4
Oregon commandery.....		1
Wis. commandery.....		2
Milton college, Milton.....		1
Milwaukee board of civil service commissioners.....		1
college endowment association.....		1
department of health.....	1	.....
mayor.....	1	.....
national exchange bank.....		1
old settlers' club.....		1
Parkman club.....		2
public library.....	2	9
social economics club.....		1
west side high school.....	1	.....
west side literary club.....		20
county board of supervisors.....	1	.....
Minneapolis (Minn.) public library.....		1
Minnesota commissioner of labor, St. Paul.....	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Minnesota geological and natural history survey, Minneapolis	7	.....
historical society, St. Paul .....	.....	2
railroad and warehouse commission, St. Paul	2	1
state board of charities and corrections, St. Paul	5	18
state treasurer, St. Paul	1	.....
Missouri botanical garden, St. Louis .....	.....	1
commissioner of labor, Jefferson City	1	.....
state university, Columbia	1	.....
superintendent of insurance, St. Louis	10	.....
Mitchell, John L., Milwaukee	14	60
Montana bureau of agriculture, labor and industry, Helena	2	.....
inspector of mines, Helena .....	.....	1
Montreal Gazette .....	.....	1
Morris, Mrs. Charles S., Berlin	1	1
Morris, Howard, Milwaukee	1	2
Morris, Mrs. W. A. P., Madison	1	19
Mueller, Adolf, Chicago	1	.....
Mueller, Rudolf, Alma .....	.....	1
Mylin, Amos H., Harrisburg, Pa.	1	.....
Mylrea, W. H., Madison .....	.....	3
National educational association, Chicago	1	.....
National primary election league, Chicago .....	.....	1
Naughtin, J. M., Madison	1	.....
Nebraska commissioner of labor, Lincoln	1	.....
state historical society, Lincoln	1	1
university, Lincoln	1	3
agricultural experiment station .....	.....	4
Newark (N. J.) free public library .....	.....	1
Newberry library, Chicago .....	.....	2
New England society in New York	1	2
New Hampshire board of railroad commiss'rs, Concord	1	.....
historical society, Concord .....	.....	1
Hew Haven colony historical society, New Haven	1	.....
New Jersey adjutant general, Trenton	1	.....
bureau of statistics, Trenton	1	.....
department of banking and insurance, Trenton	2	.....
state board of assessors, Trenton	5	.....
state board of health, Trenton	2	.....
New Mexico bar association, Santa Fe .....	.....	1
New Orleans comptroller .....	.....	1
New York, city, charity organization society	123	85
children's aid society .....	.....	1
free circulating library .....	.....	32
league for social service	2	19
mercantile library .....	.....	2
genealogical and biographical society .....	.....	3
society of order of founders and patriots of America .....	.....	2
state, banking department, Albany	1	.....
board of health, Albany	2	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
New York, state, board of mediation and arbitration, Albany	1	.....
board of railroad commissioners, Al- bany	2	.....
board of state charities, Albany.....	9	.....
bureau of statistics of labor, Albany.....	5	.....
charities aid association, New York.....		2
civil service commission, Albany.....	1	.....
college of forestry, Ithaca.....		1
library, Albany.....	8	18
Newspapers and periodicals received from publishers.....	438	.....
North Carolina commissioner of labor statistics, Ra- leigh.....	1	.....
North Dakota agricultural experiment station, Fargo.....		4
commissioner of agriculture and labor, Bismarck.....		2
commissioner of railroads, Bismarck.....	1	.....
state examiner, Bismarck.....		1
Northampton (Mass.) lunatic hospital.....		1
Northrop, B. B., Racine.....		2
Northwestern university library, Evanston, Ill.....	1	1
Nunns, Miss Annie A., Madison.....	1	.....
Oakley, Mrs. D. A., Madison.....	5	2
Oakley, F. W., Madison.....		4
Oberlin college library, Oberlin, Ohio.....	2	13
Ohio archaeological and historical society, Columbus.....		3
auditor of state, Columbus.....	1	.....
department of inspection, Norwalk.....	1	.....
historical and philosophical society, Cincinnati.....		1
insurance department, Columbus.....	5	.....
secretary of state, Columbus.....	2	.....
state board of charities, Columbus.....		3
Olds, Mrs. Irene, Madison.....	49	.....
O'Leary, Daniel, Albany, N. Y.....	1	.....
Oneida historical society, Utica, N. Y.....		3
Olson, Julius E., Madison.....	1	.....
Ontario education department, Toronto.....		2
historical society, Toronto.....		2
Oshkosh Clio class.....		1
Ott, J. H., Watertown.....		5
Ottawa (Can.) literary and scientific society.....		1
Paine, Nathaniel, Worcester, Mass.....		1
Palmer, Mrs. C. F.....	1	.....
Paulett, John W., Nashville, Tenn.....	1	.....
Peabody institute library, Baltimore.....	1	1
museum, Cambridge, Mass.....		2
Peck, Mrs. E. H. M., Milwaukee.....		9
Pennsylvania board of public charities, Philadelphia.....	3	.....
commissioner of banking, Harrisburg.....	5	.....
department of public instruction, Har- risburg.....	4	.....
factory inspector, Harrisburg.....	4	1
genealogical society, Philadelphia.....		2
German society, Philadelphia.....	1	.....

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS - Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Pennsylvania governor, Harrisburg		2
insurance department, Harrisburg.....	1	
secretary of internal affairs, Harrisburg.....	1	
state board of health, Harrisburg.	5	
university, Philadelphia.....	2	
Perkins inst. and Mass. school for the blind, Boston...		1
Peoria (Ill.) public library.....		3
Perry, Alfred T., Hartford, Conn.....		1
Perry, Miss Anne, Davenport, Iowa.....	1	
Philadelphia academy of natural sciences		1
city clerk.....	20	
free library.....		2
Jewish foster home		1
library company.....		1
mercantile library.....		4
Picard, Alphonse & Son, Paris.....		1
Pocumtuck valley memorial association, Deerfield, Mass.....	1	
Polk county board of supervisors.....		2
clerk, Osceola.....		1
Porter, E. G., Boston.....		3
Porter, Robert P., New York.....	1	2
Power, J. L., Jackson, Miss.....	1	
Pratt, Franklin S., Boston.....	1	
Pratt institute free library, Brooklyn, N. Y.....		1
Presbyterian historical society, Philadelphia.....		1
Presson, George R., San Francisco.....		1
Princeton (N. J.) university.....	4	
Protestant Episcopal church in U. S., diocese of New York.....	1	
Providence (R. I.) athenaeum		2
public library.....	2	2
Purdue university, La Fayette, Ind.....		1
Putnam, W. C., Davenport, Iowa.....		1
Quebec commissioner of lands, forests and fisheries*.....		11
provincial secretary.....		1
Rabouin, P. A., New Orleans.....	1	
Raineri, Salvator, Genoa, Italy.....		1
Ranck, Samuel H., Baltimore.....		1
Raymer, George, Madison.....	1	
Reform club, New York.....	1	
Reinsch, Paul S., Madison.....		2
Reynolds library, Rochester, N. Y.....		2
Rhode Island bureau of labor statistics, Providence...	1	
Rice, O. C., Shawano.....	1	
Riley, E. F., Madison.....		1
Riley, Franklin L., Jackson, Miss.....		1
Ripon college, Ripon.....		1
Rochester (N. Y.) university library.....		1
Rosenstengel, W. H., Madison.....		1
Roy, Pierre G., Levis, Quebec.....	1	3
Royal society of Canada, Toronto.....	1	
Runke, Richard, Madison.....		7

*Al-o maps.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Sadler, Ralph, Dorking, Eng.....	3	1
St. Croix county board of supervisors.....		1
St. Louis academy of science.....	1	.....
mercantile library association.....		2
St. Olaf college, Northfield, Minn.....		1
St. Paul (Minn.) associated charities.....		4
Salem (Mass.) public library.....		4
Sanborn, John B., Madison.....		1
San Francisco board of supervisors.....	4	.....
free public library.....	1	2
Sauerhering, E., Washington, D. C.....	1	.....
Schafer, Joseph, Valley City, N. D.....		1
Schaper, W. A., Madison.....	6	.....
Schenck, A. V. C., Madison.....		4
Sears, Lorenzo, Providence, R. I.....		1
Sellers, E. J., Philadelphia.....	1	.....
Seymour, Miss Lavernia, Madison*.....		.....
Shambaugh, Benjamin F., Iowa City, Iowa.....		3
Shawano county board of supervisors.....		1
Sheldon, Mrs. A. R., Madison.....	100	126
Sheldon, George, Deerfield, Mass.....		1
Sheldon, Miss Georgiana R., Madison.....	3	23
Sherman, L. B., Morristown, N. J.....	2	.....
Sherman, S. A., Stevens Point.....		1
Simmons, James, Lake Geneva.....	1	.....
Simons, A. M., Chicago.....		1
Smith, J. Adger, Charleston, S. C.....	1	.....
Smith, T. C., Ann Arbor, Mich.....	1	.....
Smithsonian institution, Washington, D. C.....	9	.....
Social democracy library, Chicago.....		1
Solberg, Thorvald, Washington, D. C.....		2
Sons of the revolution, Missouri society.....	4	.....
New York society.....	1	.....
Pennsylvania society.....		1
South Carolina historical society, Charleston.....	1	.....
Southern California historical society, Los Angeles.....		1
Southern history association, Richmond.....	1	.....
Spooner, John C., Madison.....	1	.....
Springfield (Mass.) city library association.....		1
Starr, Frederick, Chicago.....		3
Steensland, Halle, Madison.....	1	.....
Stickney, Gardner P., Milwaukee.....		1
Stockwell, Thomas B., Providence, R. I.....	1	.....
Stone, E. A., Lexington, Mass.....		1
Stone, William L., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.....	7	.....
Stout, James H., Menomonie.....	1	.....
Stroever, Carl, Chicago.....		1
Sulte, Benjamin, Ottawa, Can.....		5
Swain, George B., Trenton, N. J.....	1	.....
Sweet, E. T., Hutchinson county, S. D.....		2
Swett, Charles E., Boston.....		3
Taney, Mary F.....	1	.....
Tanner, H. B., Kaukauna.....		110

*Unbound serials

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Continued.

Givers.	Books.	Pam- phlets.
Tasmanian government railways, Hobart.....		1
Tennessee university, Knoxville.....		1
Tenney, Daniel Kent, Madison.....		2
Texas railroad company, Austin.....	1	
secretary of state, Austin.....		2
Thomas, Kirby, Superior*.....	10	98
Thwaites, Reuben G., Madison.....	12	32
Ties, Fred., Monroe.....		2
Todd, W. C., Atkinson, N. H.....		1
Toronto public library.....	1	
Trempealeau county board of supervisors.....		1
Trinity college, Hartford, Conn.....		1
Tucker, W. H., Indianapolis, Ind.....		2
Tulane university, New Orleans.....		1
Turner, A. J., Portage.....	4	1
Turner, Frederick J., Madison.....	11	38
United States board of Indian commissioners.....	1	
bureau of education.....	3	
bureau of statistics.....	6	
civil service commission.....	1	
commissioner of fish and fisheries.....	2	
commissioner of internal revenue.....	1	
commissioner of labor.....	1	1
commissioner of patents.....	1	
department of agriculture.....	3	18
department of interior.....	3	
department of state.....	11	
geological survey.....	6	
interstate commerce commission.....	2	3
life saving service.....	1	
light-house board.....	4	2
patent office.....	3	
superintendent of documents.....	346	100
treasury department.....	1	
war department.....	5	
Upsala university.....	1	
Usher, Ellis B., La Crosse.....	43	113
Van Cleave, James R. B., Springfield, Ill.....	2	
Van Vechten, Peter, Jr., Milwaukee.....	1	
Vance, Mrs. Frank L., Milwaukee.....	1	
Vermont university, Burlington.....		1
Vernon county board of supervisors.....		1
Vilas, William F., Madison.....	18	
Virginia university, Charlottesville.....		1
Volta bureau, Washington, D. C.....		1
Walton, J. M., Philadelphia.....	1	
Washburn, C. L. D., Washington, D. C.....		1
Washington and Lee university, Lexington, Va.....		2
Watkins, George T., Indianapolis, Ind.....		1
Webster, F. B., Pepin.....		1
Weeks, Mrs. A. R., Winnetka, Ill.....		2
Wellesley college, Wellesley, Mass.....		1

*Also unbound serials.

GIVERS OF BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS — Concluded.

Givers.	Books.	Pamphlets.
Wesleyan university, Middletown, Conn.		2
Western reserve historical society, Cleveland, Ohio.		49
Whelan, Charles E., Madison.		1
Wight, W. W., Milwaukee.	1	6
Wilder, Amos P., Madison.	1	5
William and Mary college, Williamsburg, Va.		1
Williamson, Miss Susan, Madison.	13	
Wisconsin academy of science, arts and letters, Madison	1	
bank examiner.	3	
bureau of statistics.		2
central railroad, Milwaukee.		4
college of physicians and surgeons, Milwaukee.		1
dairymen's association.	1	
farmers' institutes.	1	
free library commission.	91	82
geological and natural history survey.	1	
Horticulturist, Madison.		1
insurance department.	1	
newspapers and periodicals received from publishers.	226	
pharmaceutical association.	1	
secretary of state.	1	
state.	9	
state board of control.	1	
cranberry association.		1
firemen's association.		1
library.	113	438
medical society.	1	
normal school, River Falls.	1	
republican committee.	1	3
university.	4	
library.	17	
veterans' home, Waupaca.		1
Withers, Mrs. Lettie F., Eau Claire.		1
Wolff, G. W., Rhine.	1	
Woman's relief corps, Wisconsin department.		1
Women's clubs, general federation of.	1	
Wood, Mrs. E. F., Madison.	1	
Woodnorth, J. H., Milwaukee.	1	
Woodward, E. A., Sun Prairie.	1	
Worcester (Mass.) city clerk.	1	
free public library.		1
Wright, A. G., Milwaukee.	84	
Wright, A. O., Madison.	1	
Wright, C. B. B., Milwaukee.		2
Wyman, W. H., Omaha, Nebr.		4
Wyoming commemorative association, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.		1
historical and geological society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.		5
Wyoming state board of equalization, Cheyenne.		1
university agricultural college, Laramie.		6
Yale university, New Haven, Conn.	2	4

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS REGULARLY RECEIVED AT THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

[Corrected to February 1, 1899.]

WISCONSIN NEWSPAPERS.

The following Wisconsin newspapers are, through the gift of the publishers, now regularly received at the library and bound; all of them are weekly editions, except where otherwise noted:

- Albany* — Albany Vindicator.
- Algoma* — Algoma Record.
- Alma* — Buffalo County Journal.
- Alma Center* — Alma Center Herald.
- Antigo* — Antigo Republican; Weekly News Item.
- Appleton* — Appleton Crescent (d and w); Appleton Volksfreund; Appleton Post; Weekly Gegenwart.
- Arcadia* — Arcadian: Leader.
- Ashland* — Ashland Daily News; Ashland Weekly Press; Helping Hand (m).
- Augusta* — Augusta Eagle.
- Baldwin* — Baldwin Bulletin.
- Baraboo* — Baraboo Republic; Sauk County Democrat.
- Barron* — Barron County Shield.
- Bayfield* — Bayfield County Press.
- Beaver Dam* — Beaver Dam Argus; Dodge County Citizen.
- Bellerive* — Sugar River Recorder.
- Belmont* — Belmont Bee.
- Beloit* — Beloit Free Press (d and w); Our Church Life (m).
- Benton* — Mining Times.
- Berlin* — Berlin Weekly Journal.
- Black River Falls* — Badger State Banner; Jackson County Journal.
- Bloomer* — Bloomer Advance.
- Bloomington* — Bloomington Record.
- Boscobel* — Dial-Enterprise.
- Brandon* — Brandon Times.
- Brodhead* — Brodhead Independent; Brodhead Register; Busy Citizen.
- Brooklyn* — Brooklyn News.
- Burlington* — Standard Democrat.
- Cambria* — Cambria News.
- Cassville* — Cassville Index.
- Cedarburg* — Cedarburg News.

- Centralia* — Centralia Enterprise and Tribune.
Chetek — Chetek Alert.
Chilton — Chilton Times.
Chippewa Falls — Catholic Sentinel; Chippewa Observer; Chippewa Times; Weekly Herald.
Clinton — Clinton Herald.
Colby — Phonograph.
Columbus — Columbus Democrat.
Crandon — Forest Republican.
Cumberland — Cumberland Advocate.
Darlington — Darlington Democrat; Darlington Journal; Darlington Republican.
Deerfield — Deerfield Enterprise.
De Forest — De Forest Times.
Delavan — Delavan Republican; Enterprise; Wisconsin Times.
De Pere — Brown County Democrat; De Pere News.
Dodgeville — Dodgeville Chronicle; Dodgeville Sun; New Star.
Durand — Entering Wedge; Pepin County Courier.
Eagle River — Vilas County News.
Eau Claire — Daily Telegram; Weekly Free Press; Weekly Leader.
Edgerton — Wisconsin Tobacco Reporter.
Elkhorn — Blade; Elkhorn Independent.
Ellsworth — Pierce County Herald.
Elroy — Tribune.
Evansville — Badger; Enterprise; Evansville Review; Tribune; Wisconsin Citizen (m).
Fennimore — Times Review.
Florence — Florence Mining News.
Fond du Lac — Commonwealth (s-w); Daily Reporter.
Fort Atkinson — Ft. Atkinson Chronicle; Hoard's Dairyman; Jefferson County Union.
Fountain City — Alma Blätter; Buffalo County Republikaner.
Friendship — Adams County Press.
Grand Rapids — Wood County Reporter.
Grantsburg — Burnett County Sentinel; Journal of Burnett County.
Green Bay — Advocate (s-w); Green Bay Review; Green Bay Weekly Gazette.
Hammond — Superintendent (m).
Hancock — Hancock News.
Hartford — Hartford Press.
Hillsboro — Hillsboro Sentry.
Hudson — Hudson Star-Times; True Republican.
Hurley — Iron County Republican; Montreal River Miner.
Independence — Independence News Wave.

Janesville — Daily Gazette; Recorder and Times; Wisconsin Druggist's Exchange (m).

Jefferson — Jefferson Banner.

Juneau — Juneau Telephone.

Kaukauna — Kaukauna Sun.

Kenosha — Evening News (d); Kenosha Union; Telegraph-Courier.

Kewaunee — Kewaunee Enterprise; Kewaunské Listy.

Kilbourn City — Mirror-Gazette.

La Crosse — La Crosse Chronicle (d and w); La Crosse Daily Press; La Crosse Volksfreund; Nord-Stern; Nord Stern Blätter; Republican and Leader (d and w).

Lake Geneva — Herald.

Lake Mills — Lake Mills Leader.

Lake Nebagamon — Nebagamon Enterprise.

Lancaster — Grant County Herald; Weekly Teller.

Linden — Southwest Wisconsin.

Lodi — Lodi Valley News.

Madison — American Thresherman (m); Amerika; Daily Cardinal; Farm und Haus; Madison Democrat (d); Monona Lake Quarterly; Northwestern Mail; State; Weekly Madisonian; Wisconsin Botschafter; Wisconsin Farmer; Wisconsin Staats-Zeitung; Wisconsin State Journal (d and w); W. C. T. U. Motor (m).

Manitowoc — Manitowoc Citizen; Manitowoc Pilot; Nord-Westen; Wahrheit.

Marinette — Eagle (d and w); Förposten.

Marshfield — Marshfield Times.

Mauston — Juneau County Chronicle; Mauston Star.

Medford — Taylor County Star and News; Waldbote.

Menasha — Evening Breeze (d).

Menomonie — Dunn County News; Menomonie Nordstern; Menomonie Times; Wisconsin Signal.

Merrill — Merrill Advocate; Lincoln County Anzeiger; School Bell Echoes (m).

Merrillan — Wisconsin Leader.

Middleton — Middleton Times-Herald.

Milton — Weekly Telephone.

Milwaukee — Acker- und Gartenbau-Zeitung (s-m); Altruist (m); American School Board Journal (m); Columbia; Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt (s-m); Evening Wisconsin (d); Excelsior; Germania (s-w); Germania und Abend Post (d); International Review (m); Kuryer Polski (d); Lamplighter (m); Living Church Quarterly; Masonic Tidings; Milwaukee Daily News; Milwaukee Herald (s-w); Milwaukee Journal (d); Milwaukee Sentinel (d); Milwaukee Telegraph; Pneumatic (m); Seebote (s-w); Union Signal; Wahrheit; Way-Side (s-m); Wisconsin Banner und Volksfreund

(s-w): Wisconsin Patriot; Wisconsin State Work of Y. M. C. A. (m); Wisconsin Vorwärts; Wisconsin Weather and Crop Journal (m); Wisconsin Weekly Advocate; Young Churchman.

Mondovi — Mondovi Herald.

Monroe — Monroe Evening Times; Monroe Daily Journal; Monroe Journal-Gazette; Monroe Sentinel.

Montello — Montello Express.

Mount Horeb — Mount Horeb Times.

Necedah — Necedah Republican.

Neenah — Danskeren: Friend and Guide (m).

Neillsville — Republican and Press; Neillsville Times.

New Lisbon — New Lisbon Times.

New London — New London Press; New London Republican.

New Richmond — New Richmond Voice; St. Croix Republican.

North La Crosse — Weekly Argus.

Oconomowoc — Oconomowoc Republican; Wisconsin Free Press.

Oconto — Diocese of Fond du Lac (m); Oconto County Reporter.

Omro — Omro Herald; Omro Journal.

Oregon — Oregon Observer.

Osceola — Osceola Sun; Polk County Press.

Oshkosh — Daily Northwestern; Weekly Times; Wisconsin Telegraph.

Palmyra — Palmyra Enterprise.

Pardeeville — Crank; Pardeeville Times.

Pepin — Pepin Star.

Peshtigo — Peshtigo Times.

Phillips — Bee; Phillips Times.

Pittsville — Yellow River Pilot.

Plainfield — Sun.

Platteville — Grant County News; Grant County Witness.

Plymouth — Plymouth Reporter; Plymouth Review.

Portage — Portage Weekly Democrat; Wisconsin State Register.

Port Washington — Port Washington Star; Port Washington Zeitung.

Poynette — Poynette Press.

Prairie du Chien — Courier; Prairie du Chien Union.

Prentice — Prentice Calumet.

Prescott — Prescott Tribune.

Princeton — Princeton Republic.

Racine — Racine Journal; Racine Times (d); Slavic; Wisconsin Agriculturist (s-m).

Reedsburg — Reedsburg Free Press.

Rhineland — Rhineland Herald; Vindicator.

Rice Lake — Rice Lake Chronotype; Rice Lake Leader.

Richland Center — Republican Observer; Richland Rustic.

Ridgeway — Barneveld Banner.

- Rio* — Columbia County Reporter.
Ripon — Advance Press; Ripon Commonwealth.
River Falls — River Falls Journal.
St. Croix Falls — St. Croix Valley Standard.
Shawano — Shawano County Advocate; Shawano County Journal;
 Shawano Folksbote.
Sheboygan — Sheboygan Telegram (d); Sheboygan Times.
Sheboygan Falls — Sheboygan County News.
Shell Lake — Shell Lake Watchman; Washburn County Register.
Shiocton — Shiocton News.
Shullsburg — Pick and Gad; Southwestern Local.
Sinsinawa — Young Eagle (m).
Soldiers Grove — Crawford County Advance.
South Kaukauna — Kaukauna Times.
Sparta — Monroe County Democrat; Sparta Herald.
Spring Green — Weekly Home News.
Stanley — Stanley Republican and Journal.
Stevens Point — Gazette; Stevens Point Journal.
Stoughton — Stoughton Courier; Stoughton Hub.
Sturgeon Bay — Door County Advocate; Door County Democrat.
Sun Prairie — Sun Prairie Countryman.
Superior — Evening Telegram (d); Inland Ocean; Lake Superior Miner
 and Telegram; Superior Leader (d); Superior Tidende;* Superior Times;
 Superior Wave.
Thorp — Thorp Courier.
Tomah — Tomah Journal.
Tomahawk — Tomahawk.
Trempealeau — Trempealeau Herald.
Two Rivers — Manitowoc County Chronicle.
Union Grove — Union Grove Enterprise.
Valley Junction — Valley Advocate.
Viola — Intelligencer.
Viroqua — Vernon County Censor; Viroqua Republican.
Washburn — Washburn Times.
Waterford — Waterford Post.
Waterloo — Waterloo Journal.
Watertown — Watertown Gazette; Watertown Republican.
Waukesha — Waukesha Dispatch; Waukesha Freeman.
Waunakee — Waunakee News.
Waupaca — Waupaca Post; Waupaca Record; Waupaca Republican.
Waupun — Waupun Leader; Waupun Times.
Wausau — Central Wisconsin; Deutsche Pionier; Wausau Pilot; Wau-
 sau Record (d and w).

*Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Wautoma — Waushara Argus.
West Bend — Washington County Pilot; West Bend Democrat.
West Superior — Vindicator.
Weyauwega — Deutsche Chronik; Weyauwega Chronicle.
Whitewater — Gazette; Whitewater Register.
Windsor — Windsor Herald.
Wonewoc — Wonewoc Gazette.

OTHER NEWSPAPERS

are regularly received as follows, either by gift or purchase:

ALABAMA.

Birmingham — Labor Advocate.

ALASKA.

Sitka — Alaskan.

ARIZONA.

Phoenix — Weekly Phoenix Herald.

CALIFORNIA.

Oakland — Signs of the Times.

San Francisco — Class Struggle; Coast Seamen's Journal; Free Society; Pacific Union Printer (m); San Francisco Chronicle (d); San Francisco Tageblatt; Social Economist; Voice of Labor.

COLORADO.

Denver — Industrial Advocate; Retail Clerks' National Advocate (m); Weekly Rocky Mountain News.

Pueblo — Pueblo Courier.

CONNECTICUT.

New Britain — Independent.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington — American Federationist (m); Forester (m); Washington Post (d); Woman's Tribune (s-m).

GEORGIA.

Atlanta — Atlanta Constitution (d).

ILLINOIS.

Belleville — Social Democratic Herald.

Bloomington — Tailor (m); Traders' Review.

Chicago — American Lumberman; Arbejderen; * Chicago-Posten; * Chicago Times-Herald (d); Chicago Tribune (d); Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung (d); Cigar Makers' Official Journal (m); Fackel; Flaming Sword; Home Visitor (m); Humanisten; * International Wood-Worker (m); Ram's Horn; Rundschau; * Skandinaven (d * and w); Standard; Stone Cutters' Journal (m); Svenska Amerikanaren; * Svenska Kuriren; * Vorbote.

* Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Evanston — Social Crusader (m).

Galesburg — Galesburg Labor News.

Ottawa — Afholds-Vennen.*

Quincy — Quincy Labor News.

INDIANA.

Indianapolis — Buch drucker Zeitung; Indiana State Journal; Indiana Tribune (d); Union.

La Fayette — Painters' Journal (m).

IOWA.

Decorah — College Chips (m); * Decorah-Posten (s-w); * Decorah Republican; * Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende.*

Lake Mills — Republikaneren.*

KANSAS.

Gerard — Appeal to Reason.

Independence — Star and Kansan.

Topeka — Kansas Semi-weekly Capital.

KENTUCKY.

Lexington — Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal (m).

LOUISIANA.

New Orleans — Times-Democrat (d).

MAINE.

Portland — Board of Trade Journal (m).

MARYLAND.

Baltimore — Baltimore Weekly Sun; Granite-Cutters' Journal (m); Maryland Churchman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston — Boston Herald (d); Christian Register; National Association of Builders' Bulletin (m).

Groton — Groton Landmark.

Holyoke — Biene.

MICHIGAN.

Detroit — Detroit Sentinel; Detroit Weekly Tribune; Herold.

Harbor Springs — Anishinabe Enamiad (m).

Marquette — Mining Journal.

Saginaw — Exponent.

West Bay City — Chronicle.

MINNESOTA.

Duluth — Duluth-Superior Volksfreund; Labor World; Union Label Advocate.

Emmons — Emmons Record.*

Fergus Falls — Red River Tidende;* Rodhuggeren.*

Kenyon — Kenyon Leader.

Madison — Minnesota Tidende.*

*Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

Minneapolis — Lutheraneren;* Minneapolis Tidende;* Nye Norman-
den;* Spøgefuglen (s-m);* Ugebladet.*

Red Wing — Nordstjernen.*

St. Paul — Minnesota Stats Tidning;* Nordvesten;* Pioneer Press (d).

Winona — Westlicher Herold; Winona.

MISSOURI.

Independence — Labor Exchange.

St. Louis — Altruist (m); American Pressman (m); Brauer Zeitung;
Trackmen's Advance Advocate; Westliche Post.*

MONTANA.

Butte City — Butte Weekly Miner.

NEBRASKA.

Omaha — Omaha Weekly Bee; Western Laborer.

NEW YORK.

Brooklyn — Bakers' Journal (s-m).

Buffalo — Arbeiter Zeitung.

New York — American Economist; American Fabian; American Sen-
tinel; Arbeitaren; Churchman; Commonwealth; Fourth Estate; Freiheit;
Irish World; New York Tribune (d); New York Voice; New Yorker Volks
zeitung (d); People: Record and Guide; St. Andrew's Cross (m); Vorwärts.

Oneonta — Saturday Critic.

Schenectady — Toiler.

Syracuse — Northern Christian Advocate.

Troy — Troy Advocate.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Fargo — Fargo Posten;* Fram.*

Grand Forks — Normanden.*

Hillsboro — Statstidende.*

OHIO.

Cincinnati — Cincinnati-Zeitung (d).

Cleveland — Cleveland Citizen.

OREGON.

Portland — Weekly Oregonian.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Lancaster — Labor Leader.

Philadelphia — Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Journal (m);
American Trade (s-m); Carpenter (m); Pattern Makers' Monthly Journal.

Pittsburg — National Glass Budget; National Labor Tribune.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Charleston — News and Courier.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Sioux Falls — Fremad.*

* Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

TENNESSEE.

Ruskin — Coming Nation.

UTAH.

Salt Lake City — Living Issues; Salt Lake Deseret News (s-w); Salt Lake Herald (s-w); Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Tribune.

VIRGINIA.

Lawrenceville — Southern Missioner.

Richmond — Weekly Times.

WASHINGTON.

Edison — Industrial Freedom.

Seattle — Seattle Times.

Spokane — Freeman's Labor Journal.

Tacoma — Spirit of '76; Tacoma Tidende.*

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Victoria — Semi-Weekly Colonist.

CANADA.

Montreal — Cultivateur; Montreal Gazette (d).

Quebec — Revue Médicale.

Toronto — Mail and Empire (d).

DENMARK.

Kolding — Kors og Stjerne (m).

ENGLAND.

London — Weekly Times.

GERMANY.

Frankfort — Wochenblatt der Frankfurter Zeitung.

ICELAND.

Reikiavik — Nyja Öldin.*

MANITOBA.

Winnipeg — Manitoba Free Press (s-w); Sameiningin (m).

PERIODICALS.

The following periodicals are regularly received at the library, either by gift or purchase:

Ægis. (m.) Madison.

American Academy of Polit. and Social Science, Annals. (bi-m.) Phila.

American Antiquarian. (bi-m.) Chicago.

American Book Lore. (q.) Milwaukee.

American Catholic Historical Researches. (q.) Philadelphia.

American Catholic Quarterly Review. Philadelphia.

American Colonial Tracts. (m.) Rochester.

American Economic Association, Publications. (bi-m.) Baltimore.

American Geographical Society, Bulletin. (q.) New York.

* Received through the courtesy of Prof. R. B. Anderson.

- American Historical Magazine. (q.) Nashville.
American Historical Review. (q.) New York.
American Journal of Philology. (q.) Baltimore.
American Journal of Sociology. (bi-m.) Chicago.
American Missionary. (m.) New York.
American Monthly Magazine. Washington.
American Statistical Association, Publications. (q.) Boston.
Annals of Iowa. (q.) Des Moines.
Antiquary. (m.) London.
Archæological Institute of America, Publications. Cambridge, Mass.
Arena. (m.) Boston.
Athenæum. (w.) London.
Atlantic Monthly. Boston.
Baltimore, Enoch Pratt Free Library Bulletin. (m.)
Bible Society Record. (m.) New York.
Biblia. (m.) Meriden, Conn.
Bibliotheca Sacra. (q.) Oberlin, Ohio.
Blackwood's Magazine. (m.) Edinburgh.
Boiler Makers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal. (m.) Kansas City
Kansas.
Book Buyer. (m.) New York.
Bookman. (m.) New York.
Bookseller. (m.) London.
Boston Public Library, Monthly Bulletin.
British Record Society, Index Library. (q.) London.
Brooklyn Mercantile Library, Bulletin of Additions. (ann.)
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Journal. (m.) Cleveland.
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques. (m.) Lévis, Canada.
Cambridge (Mass.) Public Library Bulletin. (m.)
Canada Bookseller and Stationer. (m.) Toronto.
Canadian Antiquarian. (q.) Montreal.
Canadian Bookseller. (m.) Toronto.
Canadian Institute. Proceedings. Toronto.
Canadian Magazine. (m.) Toronto.
Canadian Patent Office Record. (m.) Ottawa.
Catholic World. (m.) New York.
Century. (m.) New York.
Charities Review. (m.) New York.
Clinique. (m.) Chicago.
College Days. (m.) Ripon, Wis.
Columbia University Quarterly. New York.
Comptes Rendus de l'Athénée Louisianais. (m.) New Orleans.
Connecticut Magazine. (m.) Hartford.
Contemporary Review. (m.) London.
Cook's Excursionist. (m.) New York.

- Cosmopolitan. (m.) New York.
 Cosmopolitan Osteopath. (m.) Des Moines.
 Courrier du Livre. (m.) Quebec.
 Critic. (m.) New York.
 Current History. (q.) Buffalo.
 Dedham Historical Register. (q.) Dedham, Mass.
 Dial. (s-m.) Chicago.
 Dietetic and Hygienic Gazette. (m.) New York.
 Dublin Review. (q.) Dublin.
 Economic Studies. (bi-m.) New York.
 Edinburgh Review. (q.) Edinburgh.
 English Historical Review. (q.) London.
 Essex Antiquarian. (m.) Salem, Mass.
 Essex Institute Historical Collections. (q.) Salem, Mass.
 Fame. (m.) New York.
 Folk Lore. (q.) London.
 Fortnightly Review. (m.) London.
 Forum. (m.) New York.
 Genealogical Queries and Memoranda. (q.) - London.
 Gitche Gumee. (m.) West Superior.
 Graphic. (w.) London.
 Harper's Magazine. (m.) New York.
 Harper's Weekly. New York.
 Hartford Seminary Record. (q.) Hartford, Conn.
 Harvard University Library, Bibliographical Contributions.
 Helena (Mont.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
 Home Missionary. (q.) New York.
 Illustrated London News (w.) London.
 Illustrated Official Journal (Patents). (w.) London.
 Independent. (w.) New York.
 International Good Templar. (m.) Milwaukee.
 Iowa Historical Record. (q.) Iowa City.
 Iowa Masonic Library, Quarterly Bulletin. Cedar Rapids.
 Iron Moulders' Journal. (m.) Cincinnati.
 Irrigation Age. (m.) Chicago.
 Johns Hopkins University Circulars. Baltimore.
 Johns Hopkins University Studies. Baltimore.
 Journal of American Folk-Lore. (q.) Boston.
 Journal of Cincinnati Society of Natural History. (q.) Cincinnati.
 Journal of Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, etc. (m.) Detroit.
 Journal of Political Economy. (q.) Chicago.
 Journal of Zoöphily. (m.) Philadelphia.
 Journal of the Franklin Institute. (m.) Philadelphia.
 Kansas University Quarterly. Lawrence.

Kingsley House Record. (m.) Pittsburg.
Lewisiaua. (m.) Elliott, Conn.
Library. (m.) London.
Library Journal. (m.) New York.
Library Record; bulletin of Jersey City (N. J.) Public Library. (m.)
Light. (m.) La Crosse.
Literary Era. (m.) Philadelphia.
Literary News. (m.) New York.
Literature. (w.) New York.
Littell's Living Age. (w.) Boston.
Locomotive Firemen's Magazine. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Lost Cause. (m.) Louisville, Ky.
Lower Norfolk County, Virginia Antiquary. Richmond.
McClore's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Macmillan's Magazine. (m.) London.
Maine Bugle. (q.) Rockland, Me.
Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder. (m.) Portland.
Maine Historical Society. Collections. (q.) Portland.
Manifesto. (m.) Canterbury, N. H.
Manitoba Gazette. (w.) Winnipeg.
Methodist Review. (bi-m.) New York.
Milwaukee Health Department, Monthly Report.
Milwaukee Public Library, Quarterly Index of Additions.
Minneapolis Public Library, Quarterly Bulletin.
Miscellaneous Notes and Queries. (m.) Manchester, N. H.
Missionary Herald. (m.) Boston.
Monthly Bulletin of the Bureau of American Republics. Washington.
Monthly Weather Review. Washington.
Monumental Records. (m.) New York.
Municipal Affairs. (q.) New York.
Munsey's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Nation. (w.) New York.
National Review. (m.) London.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register. (q.) Boston.
New England Magazine. (m.) Boston.
New World. (q.) Boston.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. (q.) New York.
New York Public Library Bulletin. (m.) New York.
New York State Board of Health, Bulletin. (m.) New York.
Nineteenth Century. (m.) London.
Normal Advance. (m.) Oshkosh.
North American Review. (m.) New York.
Northwest Magazine. (m.) St. Paul.
Notes and Queries. (m.) London.
Official Gazette of U. S. Patent Office. (w.) Washington.

- Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. Columbus.
"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly. Columbus, Ohio.
Our Day. (m.) Chicago.
Outlook. (w.) New York.
Overland Monthly. San Francisco.
Pennsylvania Magazine of History. (q.) Philadelphia.
Philadelphia Library Company, Bulletin. (q.)
Philadelphia Mercantile Library, Bulletin. (q.)
Philosopher. (m.) Wausau.
Pilgrim of Our Lady of Martyrs. (m.) New York.
Pilgrim Scrip. Boston.
Political Science Quarterly. New York.
Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (q.) Philadelphia.
Printers' Ink. (w.) New York.
Providence (R. I.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
Public Libraries. (m.) Chicago.
Public Opinion. (w.) New York.
Publishers' Weekly. New York.
Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine. Salem, Mass.
Quarterly Journal of Economics. Boston.
Quarterly Review. London.
Queen's Quarterly. Kingston, Ont.
Railroad Telegrapher. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Railroad Trainmen's Journal. (m.) Peoria, Ill.
Railway Conductor. (m.) Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Review of Reviews. (m.) New York.
Révue Canadienne. (m.) Montreal.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Publications. (q.) Providence.
Salem (Mass.) Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
San Francisco Public Library, Bulletin. (m.)
Scottish Review. (q.) Paisley.
Scribner's Magazine. (m.) New York.
Sound Currency. (s-m.) New York.
Southern History Association, Publications. (q.) Washington.
Spirit of Missions. (m.) New York.
Tennessee State Board of Health, Bulletin. (m.) Nashville.
Texas State Historical Society Quarterly. Austin.
Tradesman. (s-m.) Chattanooga, Tenn.
Travelers' Record. (m.) Hartford, Conn.
Typographical Journal. (m.) Indianapolis.
United States Dept. of Agriculture, Experiment Station Record. (m.)
United States Dept. of Agriculture. Insect Life.
United States Dept. of Agriculture, Library Bulletin. (m.)
University of Tennessee. (q.) Knoxville.
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. (q.) Richmond.

Westminster Review. (m.) London.
 Whist. (m.) Milwaukee.
 William and Mary College Quart. Hist. Magazine. Williamsburg, Va.
 Wisconsin Horticulturist. (m.) Baraboo.
 Wisconsin Journal of Education. (m.) Madison.
 Wisconsin Osteopath. (m.) Milwaukee.
 Yale Review. (q.) Boston.

Tabular summary of foregoing lists.

Wisconsin newspapers.....	337
Other newspapers.....	164
Periodicals.....	195
Total.....	696

WISCONSIN NECROLOGY FOR YEAR ENDING
NOVEMBER 30, 1898.

BY FLORENCE ELIZABETH BAKER, LIBRARY ASSISTANT.

Almerin M. Carter, born in Litchfield county, Conn., October 4, 1814; died at Mendota, Wis., June 7, 1898. He was educated at Hamilton college, and in 1842 settled in Johnstown, Rock county, Wis., that being his home until the time of his death, which occurred while on a visit to his son, during the Wisconsin semi-centennial celebration. He was a successful farmer, and never sought official position. In 1848 he was a member of the second constitutional convention, and in 1868 a member of the assembly.

Alexis Clermont, born in St. Ignace, Mich., April 3, 1804; died at De Pere, Wis., February 8, 1898. His father, a British soldier, was killed in the War of 1812-15. In 1820, Alexis came with his step-father's family to Green Bay. In 1832 he served in the Black Hawk war, and was for years a fur-trader and steamboat pilot on various Wisconsin rivers. He was also one of the early pedestrian mail carriers, and in 1893, during the World's Fair, made a trip on foot over his old route from Green Bay to Chicago.

Thomas P. Collingbourne, born in Leicester, England, 1826; died in Milwaukee, December 23, 1897. He came to Milwaukee from England in 1845, and successfully engaged in the painting business.

Edward Colman, born in Rochester, N. Y., 1829; died in Sheboygan, Wis., September 4, 1898. He came to Fond du Lac, Wis., in 1852, and was a farmer and civil engineer. In 1861, he went out as first lieutenant with Co. A, 18th Wisconsin volunteers; twice wounded, he was, in 1865, mustered out of service as colonel of the 49th. He was superintendent of public property at the state capitol for two years, and from 1878-80, sheriff of Fond du Lac county. His home was in Moline, Ill., but he died while on a visit to Sheboygan.

Pitt Cravath, born in Lima, Rock county, Wis., August 1, 1814; died in Whitewater, Wis., November 23, 1893. He was graduated from the State University in 1863, and in 1865 from the Albany (N. Y.) Law School. Beginning the practice of law in Whitewater, he went to New Orleans in 1868; there he became assistant secretary of state, also secretary of the senate. In 1879 he returned to Whitewater to resume his residence there, and established the *Whitewater Chronicle*, now the *Gazette*; but shortly after, he began the practice of law, in which he continued until his death.

John R. Daniel, born in Wales, 1826; died in Randolph, Wis., March 23, 1893. He came to Wisconsin in the early forties among the large number of Welsh immigrants of that time. In 1854-55 he was a student in Racine college, then became pastor at Randolph, and for forty-three years took a leading part in the affairs of the Wisconsin synod of the Welsh Presbyterian church. He held but the one pastorate, and was esteemed one of the most eminent of the ministers in connection with his synod.

Mrs. Catharine Dunn Dewey, born in Jonesboro, Ill., 1827; died in Washington D. C., March 16, 1893. Mrs. Dewey was the daughter of Charles Dunn, who was a territorial judge of Wisconsin, a member of the constitutional convention of 1818, and in many other ways prominent in the social and political life of the Territory and young State. Mrs. Dewey was the widow of Nelson Dewey, the first governor of this State.

Riverius Palmer Elmore, born in Sharon, Conn., 1815; died in Milwaukee, December 23, 1897. As a child he moved with his parents to Ulster county, N. Y., where his young manhood was spent. In 1831 he came to Milwaukee, and with his brother engaged in the coal business. Five years later his brother withdrew and the firm was reorganized, as the "R. P. Elmore Co.," one of the largest of its trade in this State. He was a prominent member of the Methodist church and to its extension gave liberally of his time and money. He had acceptably held many of the most prominent lay offices within the gift of the church.

Mrs. Angeline Gokey, born in Montreal, December 25, 1792; died in the town of Rudolph, Dodge county, Wis., October, 1893. She and her husband, Frank Gokey, who died six years ago at the remarkable age of one hundred and nine years, came to Milwaukee in 1841, and two years later settled in Theresa, Dodge county. They lived there about thirty years, and then settled in Rudolph, which has since been their home. Mrs. Gokey was the mother of eleven children, five of whom survive her.

Wallace Wilson Graham, born in Craggerycrov, Armagh county, Ireland, September 16, 1815; died in Milwaukee, October 13, 1898. He emigrated to America, and first settled in Ashtabula, Ohio, but in 1838 came to Milwaukee, where he resided until his death. He was a member of the first constitutional convention in 1846, of the assembly in 1852, and of the first common council of Milwaukee in 1846, known as the "Juneau council," because Solomon Juneau was then elected mayor. At the time of his death, Mr. Graham had been a practicing attorney in Milwaukee for nearly sixty years.

Mrs. Mary E. Grignon, daughter of David P. and Lydia Meade, born in Harrisburg, Pa., September 18, 1818; died at Kaukauna, Wis., April 20, 1893. She was educated at a Catholic convent in Somerset, Ohio.

In 1837 she was married to Charles A. Grignon at Green Bay. They soon moved to Kaukauna, where she passed the remainder of her days on the Grignon farm. The Grignon home, erected in 1839 and still standing was noted for its hospitality in Territorial fur-trade days. Mrs. Grignon was a devoted Catholic and gave liberally to the support of that church.

John S. Hawks, born in York, Pa., November 30, 1829; died at Madison, Wis., September 10, 1898. He learned the printer's trade in Canton, Ohio, and in 1848 came to Milwaukee and worked on the *Evening Wisconsin*. From 1849-53, he was foreman in the *Sentinel* office. Between 1853 and '60, in which latter year he settled permanently in Madison, he worked in Madison, Racine, St. Louis, and Milwaukee. In 1860, he became foreman of the *Wisconsin State Journal* Printing company, with which his connection was only severed by death. The long line of men afterwards prominent who had been under him, and the quality of the work which the office issued, entitled him to the soubriquet, "master printer," so often bestowed on him.

Thomas C. Hawley, born in county Tipperary, Ireland, 1835; died in Green Bay, Wis., May 18, 1898. He came to Wisconsin nearly fifty years ago and was captain of the steamboat "Morgan L. Martin" that made the first trip up the river to Appleton, in 1851. He was also captain of boats running on the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. During the Peshtigo fire (1871), he ran his boat, the "Union," up the river to the dock at Peshtigo when the town was burning and took aboard two hundred men, women and children, whom, although in great danger from the flames, he landed in a place of safety.

Abraham Bolton Hayes, born in Patterson, N. Y., June 11, 1838; died in the town of Yorkville, Racine county, Wis., December 23, 1897. In 1846, he came with his foster parents to Racine county, where he was a successful farmer and stock-raiser. For fourteen years he had been a member of the board of supervisors, and had held many minor offices of trust.

Mrs. Sally Hicklin, born in Paris, Bourbon county, Ky., July 29, 1801; died near Lancaster, Wis., June 16, 1898. In 1817, her family moved to Missouri, and there she was married, October 16, 1823, to Moses Hicklin. In 1829, they came to Cassville, Wis., and five years later settled on the farm on which she died. Mrs. Hicklin was in Cassville during the Black Hawk war, and to her death retained many vivid memories of this and other incidents in Grant county history.

Reuben P. Hicks, born in New York state, December 20, 1826; died in Omro, Wis., November 2, 1898. He settled in Omro, Wis., in 1854, and was until his death a highly respected citizen of that place.

Jesse Hubbard, born in Jefferson county, N. Y., 1812; died in Milwaukee, Wis., July 22, 1898. He came to Milwaukee in 1844; a few years later

The first of these is the fact that the British Empire is not a homogeneous entity. It is a collection of many different peoples, languages, and customs, all of which are united under the same flag. This diversity is one of the strengths of the Empire, but it also presents a challenge. How can a single government govern such a vast and varied territory?

The second challenge is the issue of race. In many of the colonies, there is a large population of people of African descent. These people are often treated as second-class citizens, and they face many hardships. The British government has a duty to protect the rights of all its subjects, regardless of their race. But how can it do this in a way that is fair and just to everyone?

The third challenge is the issue of religion. In many of the colonies, there is a large population of people who are not Christians. These people often face discrimination and persecution. The British government has a duty to protect the rights of all its subjects, regardless of their religion. But how can it do this in a way that is fair and just to everyone?

The fourth challenge is the issue of education. In many of the colonies, there is a large population of people who are illiterate. This is a major obstacle to their progress and development. The British government has a duty to provide education for all its subjects. But how can it do this in a way that is effective and efficient?

The fifth challenge is the issue of economic development. In many of the colonies, the economy is based on agriculture or mining. These industries are often subject to fluctuations in price and demand. The British government has a duty to promote economic development in the colonies. But how can it do this in a way that is sustainable and beneficial to the people?

The sixth challenge is the issue of political development. In many of the colonies, there is a large population of people who are not familiar with the principles of democracy. The British government has a duty to promote political development in the colonies. But how can it do this in a way that is effective and efficient?

moved to Mequon, but returned to Milwaukee in 1863. He was in early life a farmer, and subsequently a contractor.

John Henry Inbusch, born in Badburg, Hanover, Germany, October 10, 1814; died in Milwaukee, November 22, 1898. He emigrated to New York in 1831, and until 1856 conducted a retail grocery store. In 1850, however, he had established a wholesale store in Milwaukee. By 1856 the business had grown to such proportions that he abandoned the New York house, and, with various changes in partners, conducted a large business in Milwaukee till his death. He was a man largely interested in benevolent and church work, and gave generously to many public enterprises.

Edward Keogh, born in Cavan, Ireland, May 5, 1835; died in Milwaukee, November 29, 1898. He came with his parents to New York in 1811 and a year later to Milwaukee. Learning the printer's trade when a young man, by his industry and cleverness he worked himself to the head of one of the largest printing establishments in the State. He was a member of the assembly thirteen terms, and of the senate two; in 1893 he was speaker of the assembly. He was, during his later years of service, practically the leader of the Democratic party in the legislature and influential in State and city politics.

Thomas Kingston, born in Cork, Ireland, January 20, 1797; died in Madison, Wis., December 20, 1897. He came to America in 1832, at first settling in Rochester, N. Y., and coming to Dane county, Wis., in 1853. His active business life was spent as a contractor for the construction of railroads and canals.

William DeLoss Love, born in Barre, Orleans county, N. Y., September 29, 1819; died at St. Paul, Minn., September 5, 1898. He was a graduate of Andover in 1843 and four years later entered the Congregational ministry. His only Wisconsin pastorate was that of the Spring Street Congregational church of Milwaukee, with which he was connected from 1858-71. During the War of Secession he was in the service of the Christian Commission, formed a provisional church in the army, and assisted in organizing the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1866, he published a *History of Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion*; being also the author of numerous pamphlets and several religious books, and a frequent contributor to religious journals and newspapers.

Nathaniel F. Lund, born in Bradford, N. H., in 1818; died at Concord, N. H., November 23, 1898. He came to Janesville in 1856, and for several years was in the agricultural machinery business there. He was chief clerk under W. W. Tredway, the quartermaster-general of the State during the first year of the War of Secession, and in 1862 succeeded to his place. In 1865, he became secretary of the Madison Mutual Insurance Company, serving that institution until its failure; and in 1885 returned to New England to spend the remainder of his days.

Charles Lafayette MacArthur, born in Claremont, N. H., January 7, 1824; died in Troy, N. Y., October 12, 1898. Colonel MacArthur achieved distinction in the War of Secession, and was the first editor of the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*.

Johnson McClure, born in Chicago, October 23, 1837; died in Milwaukee, November 25, 1898. Mr. Johnson came with his parents to Milwaukee in 1842, and after being educated at Canandaigua, N. Y., entered at once the Milwaukee National Bank. He soon won promotion and finally became manager of the Clearing House Association. The strain of the financial crisis of 1893 so impaired his health that he never fully recovered, and during the last year had failed rapidly.

Xavier Martin, born in the commune of Grez-Doiceau, Brabant, Belgium, January 10, 1832; died at Green Bay, Wis., December 16, 1897. In 1853 he came to America, and until 1857 lived in Philadelphia. In that year he came to the Belgian settlement in Brown county, and for five years labored among these people — not one of whom could read, write or speak the English language — in the capacity of school teacher, justice of the peace, town clerk, school superintendent and postmaster. From 1862-70, he was register of deeds for Brown county, and from 1871 to the date of his death, was engaged in the real estate and insurance business in Green Bay. He held many city offices, and in 1874 was one of the founders of the Wisconsin Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, being its president continuously from that date. Mr. Martin's admirable article on "The Belgians of Northeast Wisconsin," in Vol. XIII of *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, attracted much attention from students of foreign immigration.

George W. C. May, born in Vernon, Oneida county, N. Y., December 18, 1814; died in Fort Atkinson, Wis., May 23, 1898. He and two brothers came to Wisconsin in 1839, and settled on a farm two miles south of Fort Atkinson. He was the owner of one of the first sawmills of the district, and furnished the lumber for most of the early buildings of Fort Atkinson.

William Meacher, born in England, May 27, 1833; died in Portage, Wis., April 22, 1898. At an early age, Dr. Meacher came with his parents to America, and in 1844 to Wisconsin. In 1862 he was graduated from Rush Medical College. He was commissioned assistant surgeon of the 16th Wisconsin volunteer infantry, and later served for four months as contract surgeon. In 1870, he located at Portage, and during the last twenty years of his life was surgeon at Portage for the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, and for half that length of time for the Wisconsin Central. He was a member of the board of censors of the Wisconsin Medical Society, an ex-president of the Northwestern and Central Wisconsin medical societies, and the inventor of several surgical appliances now in general use.

William P. Merrill, born in South Berwick, Me., March 25, 1816; died in Battle Creek, Mich., July 25, 1893. He received a common school education in New York state, whither his people had emigrated when he was a child. In 1836, he came to Milwaukee, staying for about a year. The period between 1837-39 he spent in exploring northern Illinois and Wisconsin. In 1839, he settled permanently in Milwaukee, and bought eighty acres of land in the vicinity, later doubling it. He soon became actively interested in real estate, and as the city developed, the value of his property rapidly increased. One of the last acts of Mr. Merrill's life was the gift of \$12,000 to Milwaukee-Downer College, and the new main building has been named Merrill Memorial Hall. He died while on a visit to his son, D. L. Merrill, at Battle Creek.

Benjamin Kurtz Miller, born in Gettysburg, Pa., May 6, 1830; died in Milwaukee, September 12, 1898. He came to Milwaukee with his father's family in 1839. Graduating from Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1848, he was in 1851 admitted to the bar. The panic of 1857 proved his ability to disentangle business complications, and for many years he was connected, both as an official and legal adviser, with a large number of home and foreign corporations. In 1896, he gave \$5,000 to the Milwaukee Law Library, and was generally interested in the improvement and development of the city.

George F. Newell, born in Vermont, May 5, 1816; died at Waterford, Wis., March 18, 1898. He was graduated from Castleton (Vt.) Medical College, in 1842, and two years later settled in Waterford, Racine county, Wis. In 1847-48, he was a member of the territorial legislature, and for many years superintendent of the schools of Waterford. Eight years ago Dr. Newell suffered a stroke of paralysis, from which he never fully recovered.

Alfred W. Newman, born in Green county, New York, April 5, 1834; died in Madison, Wis., January 12, 1898. He graduated at Hamilton College in 1857, and in the same year was admitted to the bar. Soon thereafter he came to Wisconsin and settled at Trempealeau, where he remained in the practice of law until 1894, when he was appointed to the supreme bench of the State. In 1860 he had been elected county judge, and was twice re-elected; from 1876-94 he served on the circuit bench. In 1866-76, he was district attorney, and in 1868 State senator for one term. His death resulted from a fall on an icy sidewalk; he had, a year previously, suffered a stroke of paralysis.

Nathan Olmsted, born in Delaware county, N. Y., October 17, 1812; died at Belmont, Wis., April 5, 1893. He came to Wisconsin in 1833, and two years later settled at Belmont. He was appointed a justice of the peace by Governor Dodge, which office he held till the time of his death. He was a member of the legislature in 1851 and 1853, and is said to have held more minor offices than any other man in the county. Since 1860, he had been engaged in the practice of law.

Martin Roehm, born in Kierheim, Wurtemberg, in 1822; died at Ashland, Wis., April 17, 1898. In 1855 he settled on the land where Ashland now stands, and for forty-three years had spent but four days, all told, out of this county. He was one of the celebrities of Ashland, and an industrious and honored citizen.

Patrick Rogan, born in Ross Glass, County Down, Ireland, September 26, 1808; died in Watertown, Wis., February 16, 1898. He came to America in 1823, and first located at Montreal. In 1837, he settled in Watertown, becoming prominently identified with all the activities of the then frontier town. He held, in his time, nearly all the city and town offices, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1846, and a member of the legislature from 1851-55, and again in 1866. He was an active member of the Catholic church, being the organizer of the first parish in Watertown. The *Watertown Gazette* says of him: "To such worthy pioneers as Mr. Rogan, are not only the citizens of Watertown, but those of the entire country, under everlasting obligations."

James Simons, born in Oneida county, New York, January 5, 1821; died in Kaukauna, Wis., February 2, 1898. In 1834, he, with the majority of the Brothertown Indians of Connecticut, was removed from New York to Wisconsin, and settled on the shores of Lake Winnebago, where the village of Brothertown now stands. As one of the descendants of the chiefs of his tribe, he occupied a prominent place among his people, after the tribal system was abandoned and these Indians had become citizens of the United States.

Samuel Smead, born in Bradford county, Pa., June 11, 1830; died at Fond du Lac, Wis., April 28, 1898. He came to Wisconsin in 1846, and settled in Fond du Lac, where he resided until his death. In 1853, he became publisher of the *Fond du Lac Press*, and continued in the newspaper business for several years. Afterwards he was a merchant, and still later a real-estate dealer. An influential Democrat, he was in 1892 elected to the State senate, and served one term.

Angus Smith, born at Algonac, Mich., December 18, 1822; died in Milwaukee, April 22, 1898. He early began a business career; in 1858, coming to Milwaukee, he in company with Jesse Hoyt built the first grain elevator there. His operations in wheat early made Milwaukee famous as a grain center. He was also one of the founders of the Milwaukee & Northern railroad, which is now a part of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul system, was one of the first members of the Milwaukee chamber of commerce, and an owner of several mines.

Frederick Ludwig von Suessmilch-Hoernig, born at Wurzen, Saxony, Germany, October 26, 1820; died in Delavan, Wis., February 11, 1898. He was a student in the gymnasium of Grimma and Nicholai College, Leipzig, and completed his course at Bautzen; his medical education was received at Leipzig and Dresden, but in 1848 he was compelled to

emigrate, because of his political beliefs, and came to Wisconsin. In 1852, he became a resident of Delavan, being until his death prominently identified with the affairs of the village, and well known throughout the State in medical and Masonic circles.

Alexander M. Thomson, born in Pittsburg, Pa., May 30, 1822; died in Milwaukee, June 9, 1893. When he was two years of age his family migrated to Trumbull county, Ohio, and in that State he received his education. In 1818 he came to Hartford, Washington county, Wis., and engaged in farming. In 1859-60 he was part owner of the *Milwaukee Free Democrat*; in 1862, editor of the *Home League*; from 1864-70, editor of the *Janesville Gazette*; from 1870-74, editor-in-chief of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, and in 1874-75, editor of the *Daily Advertiser*, and one of the proprietors of the *Morning News*. Later, he was an editorial writer on the *Chicago Tribune*, and from 1890-94, on the *Chicago Journal*. In 1863-69, he was a member of the assembly from Rock county. His last newspaper work was a political history of Wisconsin published from January to April, 1893, in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. The *Sentinel* said of him: "His death will leave a gap in the older generation of editors and politicians that cannot be filled. He was a connecting link between the political history of the days when Wisconsin was in its infancy, and the present."

Robert Byron Treat, born in New York state, August 2, 1824; died in Chicago, December 20, 1897. He came to Janesville, Wis., in 1848, and began the practice of medicine. At once taking a prominent part in the affairs of that city, he served as mayor for several terms; and for fourteen years was president of the board of trustees of the State School for the Blind. In 1871 he became a resident of Chicago.

Jacob J. Vollrath, born in Doerrebach, Rhine Province, Germany, September 19, 1824; died in Sheboygan, Wis., May 15, 1893. He learned the trade of a molder in Germany, and in 1844 came to Milwaukee, where he spent about five years. From Milwaukee, he moved to Chicago, and finally in 1853 settled in Sheboygan, there becoming a manufacturer of agricultural implements. He was the inventor of the gray enameled ware, and began its manufacture in 1874; his business interests assumed large proportions, and since 1884 a stock company, of which he was president, have operated the plant.

David Williams, born in Darien, Genesee county, N. Y., January 6, 1818; died at Darien, Wis., February 7, 1893. He came to Geneva, Wis., in 1846, and to Darien in 1868. In 1857 he was elected to the assembly. He was one of the organizers of the Walworth County Fair, and an active member of the State Fair Board.

Elmer Vocum, born in Mifflin county, Pa., August 6, 1806; died in Kilbourn, Wis., October 12, 1893. At the age of twenty, in Wayne county, Ohio, he was licensed as a local Methodist preacher, and joined the Ohio

conference in 1820. In 1849 he came to Platteville, Wis., and thereafter, throughout his active life, served as presiding elder in some Wisconsin district. It is said that before the War of Secession there was no town or city in Wisconsin in which he had not preached.

LEADING WISCONSIN EVENTS IN 1898.

JANUARY.

- 7.—North Wisconsin Historical Society organized at Ashland.
- 12.—Death of A. W. Newman, justice of State supreme court, at Madison.
- 29.—F. A. Walsh & Co.'s large tin-ware establishment destroyed by fire in Milwaukee; loss, \$225,000.
- 23-26.—Heavy storms throughout the State.
- 25.—C. V. Bardeen appointed to the State supreme bench, succeeding Judge Newman.
- 27-28.—Annual meeting of Wisconsin National Guard, in Milwaukee.

FEBRUARY.

- 2-4.—Joint convention of State Horticultural, State Forestry, and Wisconsin Cheesemakers' associations at Madison.
- 20-21.—Heaviest snow storm since 1881.

MARCH.

- 23.—Gen. William Booth, commander-in-chief of the Salvation Army, speaks in Milwaukee.
- 26.—Burning of factory buildings at State industrial school, Waukesha; loss, \$80,000.

APRIL.

- 25.—Three regiments of infantry are called for Wisconsin, for the Spanish-American war.
- 28-29.—First, Second, and Third regiments, and Companies A, B, C, and F of the Fourth, mobilize at Camp Harvey, Milwaukee.

MAY.

- 14.—Third regiment starts for Chickamauga.
- 15.—Second regiment leaves for Chickamauga.
- 16.—Beginning of strike of the Oshkosh wood-workers.
- 19.—Wind and electrical storm throughout Wisconsin and neighboring counties; slight loss of life, but many injured, and much property damaged.
- 20.—First regiment leaves for Jacksonville.
- 25-26.—Thirty-second annual encampment of the Wisconsin G. A. R., at Appleton.

JUNE.

- 7-9.—State semi-centennial anniversary celebration, at Madison.
- 11 16.—Little Chute semi-centennial celebration, by Holland settlers.
- 23.—Commencement at the State University.
- 24.—State troops sent to Oshkosh to quell the riot of striking wood-workers.
- 27.—Fourth regiment mobilized at Camp Douglas.
- 27.—July 2.—Milwaukee Carnival.

JULY.

- 6.—First light battery mobilized at Camp Douglas.
- 12.—Orders issued by Adj.-Gen. Boardman for the formation of the Fifth Wisconsin infantry.
- 13.—Racine Malleable and Wrought-Iron Co.'s works burn; loss, \$75,000 in money, three lives, and many seriously injured.
- 21.—Second and Third Wisconsin regiments leave Charleston for Puerto Rico.
- 28.—Second and Third regiments arrive in Puerto Rico, and take part in the capture of Ponce.

AUGUST.

- 1.—State Reformatory opened, at Green Bay.
- 4.—Oshkosh mills start up, after the long strike.
- 13.—The Third Wisconsin in the last engagement of the Spanish-American war, at Aibonito, Puerto Rico.
- 17-19.—Republican State convention, at Milwaukee.
- 20.—Sick from the Second and Third Wisconsin regiments reach New York.
- 21-24.—State convention of German Catholic societies, in Milwaukee.
- 29.—Order received from Washington, to muster out the First Wisconsin.
- 31—Sept. 1.—Democratic State convention, in Milwaukee.

SEPTEMBER.

- 10.—First regiment arrives in Milwaukee.
- 16.—Last of Second regiment arrives at New York.
- 29-30.—Forest fires, chiefly in Barron county; 258 families left destitute; loss, \$400,000. Relief agencies established in various cities of the State.

OCTOBER.

- 4.—Third Wisconsin regiment sent back from San Juan to Coamo.
- 5.—Sick Wisconsin soldiers arrive at Newport News, from Puerto Rico.
- 7.—Gen. Charles King, of Wisconsin, ordered to Manila.
- 11.—Third Wisconsin regiment leaves Coamo; one-third of regiment left behind sick.

OCTOBER (continued).

- 20.—Elisha D. Smith Library, of Menasha, dedicated. Four Milwaukee companies of First Wisconsin mustered out.
- 26.—Third Wisconsin reaches New York from Puerto Rico.
- 30.—Third Wisconsin arrives in Milwaukee.

NOVEMBER.

- 8.—Edward Scofield re-elected governor.
- 9.—Justice S. U. Pinney resigns from the State supreme bench.
- 10.—Annual convention of Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs begins at La Crosse.
- 16.—Second Wisconsin mustered out.
- 19.—Joshua E. Dodge appointed member of State supreme court, to succeed Justice Pinney.
- 26.—Battleship *Wisconsin* launched at San Francisco.

DECEMBER.

- 17.—Five stores burn on Fond du Lac avenue, Milwaukee; loss, \$56,000.

NECROLOGICAL SUMMARY.

(Alphabetical arrangement.)

The following notable Wisconsin people died within the year: At Oshkosh, September 1, President Albee, of the Oshkosh State normal school; at Mendota, June 7, A. M. Carter, member of second constitutional convention; at Washington, D. C., March 16, Mrs. Catherine Dunn Dewey, daughter of Charles Dunn, territorial judge, and widow of Nelson Dewey, first State governor; at Berlin, Germany, November 2, Julius Goldschmidt, consul general of United States, and prominent Milwaukee business man; at Milwaukee, October 13, Wallace W. Graham, member of first constitutional convention; at Kaukauna, April 29, Mrs. Mary E., widow of Charles A. Grignon, early fur-trader; at Troy, N. Y., October 12, Charles L. MacArthur, first editor of Milwaukee Daily *Sentinel*; at Portage, April 22, Dr. William Meacher, prominent physician; at Battle Creek, Mich., July 25, William P. Merrill, a Milwaukee pioneer and benefactor of Milwaukee-Downer College; at Milwaukee, September 12, Benjamin K. Miller, pioneer lawyer; at Madison, January 12, Alfred W. Newman, justice of State supreme court; at Watertown, February 16, Patrick Rogan, a Watertown pioneer, member of first constitutional convention, and early legislator; at Kaukauna, January 5, James Simons, one of the head-men of the Brothertown Indians; at Delavan, February 11, Dr. Frederick L. von Suessmilch-Hoernig, a prominent physician; at Milwaukee, June 9, Alexander M. Thomson, pioneer journalist; at Milwaukee, October 21, Col. John J. Upham, U. S. A., a distinguished soldier; at Darien, February 7, David Williams, pioneer assemblyman and agriculturist.

STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION — FEBRUARY, 1899.

A State historical convention was held in the auditorium of the First Congregational church at Madison, upon February 22d and 23d, under the auspices of the Society.

The convention opened at 2 P. M. of Wednesday, the 22d, with an attendance representing all sections of the State. President Johnston occupied the chair, and the following papers were presented:

Puritan Influence in Wisconsin. By Hon. E. B. Usher, editor of *La Crosse Chronicle*.

The Settlement of Beloit as Typical of the Best Western Migration of the American Stock. By Prof. Henry M. Whitney, of Beloit College.

The Influence of the French Regime, in the Valley of the Fox. By Mrs. Ella Hoes Neville, of Green Bay, president of Wisconsin State Federation of Women's Clubs.

The German-American Press. By Hon. Emil Baensch, of Manitowoc.

The First Norwegian Settlements in America, within the Present Century. By Hon. Rasmus B. Anderson, of Madison, editor of *Amerika*.

At 6 P. M., in the chapel of the church, the resident members of the Society tendered a supper to non-resident members and other invited guests. About one hundred and twenty persons participated. President Johnston acted as toastmaster, Dr. James D. Butler offered prayer, and toasts were responded to by Col. William F. Vilas, of Madison; Dr. George Burton Adams, of Yale University; Hon. Francis B. Keene, of Milwaukee; and ex-Gov. William D. Hoard, of Fort Atkinson.

At 7:50 o'clock the company adjourned to the auditorium, where Dr. Adams, of Yale, introduced by the President to a large and representative audience, delivered the biennial address before the Society, on "The Movement for Federation between England and her Colonies."

The final session of the convention was held on the morning

of Thursday, the 23d. Secretary Thwaites occupied the chair, and the following papers were read:

Allouez and his Relations to La Salle. By Rev. Joseph S. La Boule, of St. Francis Seminary.

Some Distinctive Characteristics of the History of our Lead Region. By Rev. John N. Davidson, of Two Rivers.

The Old Fort at Fort Atkinson. By Prof. D. D. Mayne, city superintendent of schools, Janesville.

The Future of Northern Wisconsin. By Hon. James O'Neill, of Neillsville.

The Great Lakes and the Railroad Development of Northern Wisconsin. By Prof. J. S. Griffin, principal of Broadway High School, West Superior.

The History of a Great Industry. By Hon. John Luchsinger, of Monroe.

The convention thereupon stood adjourned.

THE ORIGIN AND THE RESULTS OF THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.¹

BY GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D.

During the last half of the present century, a great change has taken place in the feeling of the people of England in regard to the Colonies and the Empire. Before 1850, so great was the prevailing indifference that it was exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to arouse public opinion on any question of colonial policy. At present, scarcely any subject exists of greater interest to the mass of Englishmen. Before that date, and indeed for many years afterwards, the colonies were looked upon almost solely as sources of wealth to England, or as safely-distant places into which could be drained the superfluous, the destitute and burdensome, and even the criminal population of the mother country. Now, the conception of colonies as a mere commercial investment, or a kind of a social pest house, has entirely passed away, and the nation has come to realize that they are a source of wealth which cannot be entered in the ledger, and of moral health not measured in the statistics of crime. And the vision of new Englands in many regions of the globe, filled with prosperous and patriotic Englishmen, destined in the future greatly to exceed in wealth and numbers the parent state, is gradually changing also the idea of the Empire. Anglo-Saxon empire is coming to mean no longer, as it once did, mere geographical expansion or mere political conquest and rule, but rather the one race in all its scattered homes, united by pride in a common past, by the possession of a common civilization, and by common aspirations for the future. It is coming to mean less the territories which the Anglo-Saxon occupies, wherever they may lie on the map, than the political liberty and freedom of opportunity for all which he is there working out, or

¹ Biennial Address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, February 22, 1899.

the training in the best of his possessions which he is imparting to inferior races.

This new idea of empire, as the united race and its common inheritance, has begun most happily to extend beyond England and her present colonies, and to take in us who once were colonies. It has led to the idea of the race as above the nation, of a kinship superior to artificial boundary lines, and was one of the chief causes of that helpful friendliness so often extended to us during our war with Spain.

A change so full of interest to us as this, and so fraught with the highest good to all the world (if it leads, as it may very likely do, to a common Anglo-Saxon policy, generously conceived and pursued in close alliance), is one of the most important that has ever occurred in history. What are the causes which have brought it about?

The subject to which I would invite your attention to-night, is the history of one of the strongest influences creating this new consciousness of race unity, the so-called imperial federation movement in England. While this movement was in the main confined to England, and was wholly concerned with the relation of England to her colonies, the new conception which it helped to create has not been so confined, and the recent expression of it to which I have just alluded has aroused among us something at least of a response, and may not impossibly lead to results which will give the imperial federation movement a direct bearing on our future history.

The question of the proper form of an imperial government, including in one system England and her colonies, is one that did not arise until long after the founding of the American colonies, but it has been more or less constantly discussed for a century and a half. It was the heavy expense of the long struggle with France, that first gave rise to the question whether the English parliament could not exercise more direct powers of government in the colonies than it had hitherto done. The answer which was returned to this question, we are not likely to forget. The stamp act and the tax on tea were clumsy experiments in imperial government, and led, with what they necessarily implied, to a result which England ought to have

anticipated had she remembered her own history in the seventeenth century, and recognized the fact that the American colonists were likely to preserve the spirit and insist upon the rights of their ancestors. In recent years the English people have come to do justice to the colonial cause, and to understand how much they themselves gained from our successful resistance to the will of George III. It is true also, that since England's return to a policy of self-government in the colonies, she has drawn from her experience in America a valuable lesson in present colonial government. But for almost a hundred years, the memory of the American Revolution exercised an influence upon the relation of England to her colonies unfortunate for both. This influence in some particulars I have attempted to trace elsewhere.¹ I shall refer to it here, only as one of the important causes of that feeling in the English official world in regard to colonial relations, which finally became so strong and so nearly carried out in practice as to bring about a popular reaction which led immediately to the rise of the idea of imperial federation.

The first effect of the American Revolution seems to have been a very general fear that a liberal policy in the government of the colonies would result in their throwing off their allegiance and proclaiming themselves independent, as the American colonies had done. Naturally, the English government determined to prevent the anticipated result, and naturally also, holding this belief, it sought to do so by maintaining a strict control of the colonies from the home office; for, as an advocate of this policy wrote in 1813, "it cannot be too often or too seriously pressed, that a firm adherence to a restrictive policy alone can secure the allegiance of the colonists and the advantages which they bring to the mother country."² This policy, applied to Canada, was one of the chief causes of the Rebellion of 1837; and it led to so plain an exhibition of the temper of the colonists that England was persuaded to abandon it, and free self-government was granted to Canada. The same

¹ *Report of the American Historical Association for 1896*, vol. i, pp. 373-389.

² Anonymous pamphlet, *Considerations on Colonial Policy* (1813), p. 14.

favor was granted a little later, and with some further hesitation, to the Australian colonies.

But, though the policy of strict government from home was dropped, the English official world was not converted from the belief that the colonies were destined to inevitable independence. The first result of granting self-government to them, was rather to strengthen this belief. It was the reigning opinion at the middle of this century, that in allowing the colonies to govern themselves, England had consented to the first steps towards independence, and that the experience which the colonists would gain in managing their own affairs would soon lead them to demand complete separation from the mother country. So reconciled did the public become to this view of the case, that it even came to be generally believed that the real object of colonial self-government should be to train the colonists in the conduct of government, as a preparation for future independence. This fact cannot be put more exactly than in the words of Mr. Arthur Mills, in the introduction to his work on colonial constitutions, published in 1856. He says: "To ripen those communities to the earliest possible maturity,—social, political, and commercial,—to qualify them, by all the appliances within the reach of a parent State, for present self-government, and eventual independence, is now the universally admitted object and aim of our colonial policy."¹ Says Lord Bury, afterwards Earl of Albemarle, in a work on colonial history published in 1865, speaking of the same fact: "So wide spread is this belief that our whole colonial policy is based on the assumption that our colonies will at some future time desire to become independent nations; and that we have learned the lesson taught by the war of American independence too well to prevent them even if we could."²

Interesting evidence of the extreme form of this belief is found in the fact that Lord Bury, in the work just quoted, and Mr. Thring, afterwards Lord Thring, a subordinate officer of the government, in a publication of the same year, both submitted plans to be adopted in advance, by which the independ-

¹ Mills, *Colonial Constitutions*, p. lxix.

² Lord Bury, *Exodus of the Western Nations*, ii, p. 17.

ence of a colony might be legally declared whenever it should wish, and the new nation launched upon its career with the blessing of the parent state.¹

While this belief was held by most public men, and by many writers on colonial subjects from the early part of the century, its influence was combined with that of another theory before it began to affect the practical action of the government. This was the doctrine that the colonies were nothing but a burden, and that it would be better for England to be rid of them.

It is impossible to trace here in any detail the rise and growth of this doctrine, interesting as it might be to do so. It undoubtedly had its origin, like the other idea, in the troubles of the American revolutionary period. Briefly stated by Adam Smith, just as the war was beginning,² and by Dean Tucker a little later,³ it received still more complete and striking development from Jeremy Bentham, in 1793, in a paper addressed to the revolutionary government in France, but not published at the time. After an interval of about thirty years, the idea again made its appearance, and this time apparently with some considerable popular support.⁴ It appeared in the reviews, and was heard in the House of Commons. A writer in the *Quarterly Review* of January, 1822,⁵ considered the notion prevalent enough to deserve an answer, and indicated its character by saying: "It may not be amiss to advert to some objections occasionally advanced against these dependencies altogether. It is sometimes insisted that colonies are burdens;

¹ Lord Bury's plan, given in his *Exodus of the Western Nations*, vol. ii, pp. 459-463, provided for independence by a treaty between England and the colony. Mr. Thring's plan was stated in a pamphlet which I have not seen, entitled *Suggestions for Colonial Reform*. As given by Lord Bury, *Exodus*, ii, 457, it provided for independence by royal proclamation.

² *The Wealth of Nations*, book iv, chap. 7.

³ See his pamphlet made up of letters addressed to Necker, entitled *Cui bono*, especially letters v and vi, and the postscript.

⁴ It was not possible within the limits of this address to discuss the relation of this idea to the movement for the removal of trade restrictions, nor of Cobden's to the free trade movement. I hope to give this part of the subject more adequate treatment on some future occasion.

⁵ Vol. 26, p. 523.

and that the wealth and strength of a country would be increased by seeking the productions of detached states and settlements of other countries." A few weeks later in the same year, in a debate in the House of Commons on a petition from Canada, Sir I. Coffin said: "It would have been a good thing for this country if Canada had been sunk to the bottom of the sea. It cost this country £500,000 per annum, and did not make a return to it of 500 pence. * * * The sooner the governor was called home, and the sooner the assembly and colony were suffered to go,—he should be sorry to say au diable,—the better."¹ In the next year the House of Commons listened to the same doctrine from Mr. D. Hume, who maintained that "it was obvious that the colonies, instead of being an addition to the strength of the country, increased its weakness."² In 1825 the *Edinburgh Review*³ said: "We defy anyone to point out a single benefit, of any sort whatever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North America. They are productive of heavy expenses to Great Britain, but of nothing else." And the next year the same *Review* added:⁴ "We have no hesitation in saying, that instead of being of any value to England, it would have been better for her, had Canada, Nova Scotia, etc., continued to this hour in the possession of their aboriginal savages."

I will not multiply these quotations, though it might easily be done; but it is especially interesting that Jeremy Bentham's tract, in which he had tried to persuade the French revolutionists to abandon their colonies, and which had remained for a whole generation unpublished, was put into circulation in England, for some reason, in 1830.⁵ A party advocating these views had already begun to form itself, and was no doubt encouraged and strengthened by Bentham's striking argument. It is to be noticed also that this tract was published just at the beginning

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, 2d series, vol. 6, col. 1076.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 8, col. 250.

³ Vol. 42, p. 291.

⁴ Vol. 43, p. 350.

⁵ *Emancipate your Colonies! Addressed to the National Convention of France, A^o 1793. Now first published for sale* (London, 1830). Included also in vol. iv of Bentham's *Works*.

of the most dangerous crisis in English colonial government since the American revolution — the culmination of the struggle in Canada. That danger was overcome, however, not by abandoning Canada altogether, according to the doctrine of this new party, but by a wise and generous yielding to her wishes, which speedily restored her shaken loyalty.

With the rise of the free-trade movement, this doctrine of the misfortune of possessing colonies received the powerful support of the Manchester school of economists and politicians, and especially of Mr. Richard Cobden. In both his speeches and his political writings he is continually recurring to the subject. Nothing but the foreign policy of England is so foolish and insane as her colonial policy. Cobden's view of the question is entirely that of the economist. His only standard by which to measure the value of colonies, is that of shillings and pence.¹ The fearful burden of taxes; the maintenance of an unnecessary army and navy; the enormous debt; the necessity of economy; the possibility of the fate of Spain overtaking the nation which is immolating its natural greatness on the shrine of trans-Atlantic ambition,² these are the reasons which he urges for an immediate dissolution of the Empire, and for abandoning the colonies to themselves, apparently without inquiring what their wishes might be in the matter. They are able, he says, to take care of themselves. Evidently no vision arose before his mind of a diminishing national debt and enormously increasing national wealth, going hand in hand with an undreamed of colo-

¹ "Three hundred millions of permanent debt have been accumulated, millions of direct taxation are levied annually, restrictions and prohibitions are imposed upon our trade in all quarters of the world, for the acquisition or maintenance of colonial possessions; and all for what? That we may repeat the fatal Spanish proverb — 'The sun never sets on the king of England's dominions.' For we believe that no candid investigator of our colonial policy will draw the conclusion, that we have derived, or shall derive, from it advantages that can compensate for these formidable sacrifices."—*Political Works*, vol. i, p. 26.

² "Spain lies, at this moment, a miserable spectacle of a nation whose own natural greatness has been immolated on the shrine of trans-Atlantic ambition. May not some future historian possibly be found recording a similar epitaph on the tomb of Britain."—*Political Works*, vol. i, p. 25.

nial expansion. One would like to know if he would still measure the value of Canada and Australia to England by the balance of trade alone.¹

Vigorous as was the argument of Mr. Cobden against the colonial policy of England, it was surpassed in frankness and completeness, near the end of his life, by a younger member of the Manchester school, Mr. Goldwin Smith, then Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. He first published his argument in a series of letters to the London *Daily News* in 1862, and in the following year as a volume, with an introduction and some additions, under the title of *The Empire*. In the way of actual argument the letters contained but little that was new, except in relation to recent events. The reasoning was very largely that of Bentham and Cobden, but it was developed and enforced with all the remarkable dialectic skill of the author, and made attractive by the graces of his style.

From the appearance of the first letter, this skillful reassertion of the doctrine that England ought to look to her own interests alone, and lay aside all responsibility for the colonies, attracted much attention and led to much discussion both in England and in the colonies. Undoubtedly it strengthened the official class, especially the leaders of the Liberal party, in their belief that colonial independence was certain to come at no distant day. On the general opinion of England, in so far as it can be inferred from the press, it seems to have had an effect opposite to that intended by the author. It was interpreted as an attack on the integrity of the Empire, especially dangerous because so able, and it awakened a spirit of opposition and a

¹A representative of the Manchester school has denied that they ever entertained a feeling of contempt for the colonies. This of course depends largely upon what one considers a feeling of contempt, and the colonies are hardly likely to have had the same view of the case as those who held the opinions of Cobden. Probably almost any one would admit, however, that the following words of Mr. Cobden, written in 1836, come near to proving the accusation: "The colonies, the army, the navy, and the church, are only appendages of our aristocratical government. John Bull has for the next fifty years the task set him of cleansing his house from this stuff." — Quoted from Geffcken, *The British Empire*, p. 53.

determination to maintain the colonial connection, which must be regarded as the first step towards the federation movement.

So long, however, as ideas of this sort were confined to theoretical writers like Bentham and Goldwin Smith, or to politicians accustomed to use extravagant language but not responsible for the actual conduct of colonial affairs, like Mr. Cobden, the sound public sense of England was not likely to take alarm. The letters of Prof. Goldwin Smith called forth considerable discussion in newspapers and reviews, in which the cause of the Empire was quite as ably maintained as the cause of disintegration; but for some years the debate remained purely academic. It was only when real anxieties arose regarding the safety or the loyal feeling of the colonies, combined with evidence that the ministry of the day were disposed to put these theories into practice and turn the colonies adrift, that the people of England were sufficiently aroused to make their feeling known.

Before the close of the decade in which Mr. Goldwin Smith's book appeared, two colonial questions had arisen which seemed to England of unusual importance, and which excited a general popular interest. The first of these was the defence of Canada against the danger to which she was believed to be exposed from the civil war then going on in the United States. The second, coming immediately on the heels of the other, was a prolonged and difficult war between the natives of New Zealand and the colonists. The special questions arising in the course of this war gave rise to a general discussion of the fundamental question — the proper attitude of the mother country towards her colonies.

It was a series of events, however, in the year 1869 and the early months of 1870, which revealed to the nation that the theories of the certainty of colonial independence and of the disadvantage of colonial possessions had gone much further towards a realization in actual facts than anyone had supposed. In the New Zealand native war, the settlers were having, as they thought, a rather bad time of it, and they had earnestly appealed to the home government for aid, but without effect. The use of imperial troops had been refused them; even the single regiment which had been stationed in the colony, was withdrawn

in the middle of the war. The colonists had been denied the guarantee of a loan to meet their military expenses, and finally they were rather harshly informed that the home government considered itself under no obligation to assist them. The British troops were also withdrawn from the Cape Colony, and the Australians were told that only one regiment would be left in that island. Canada was informed through Sir John Young, that she might have independence for the asking.¹ At a public meeting in London, Mr. Edward Wilson, "an eminent Australian, said, among other things, that a letter which he had received and which he read to the meeting, proved that Lord Granville's private views were in favor of a policy of separation between the colonies and this country."² That is, the secretary of state for the colonies was in favor of the dissolution of the Empire. In another meeting a few days later, Sir George Grey, lately Governor of New Zealand, said "that Lord Granville had intimated to one of the deputations on the subject of New Zealand, that if New Zealand wished to break off her connection with this country, and thought it would be for her own advantage to do so, there would be no objection."³

In August of that year, certain distinguished colonists in London issued an invitation to the leading colonies to send deputies to a conference to meet in February of 1870 to discuss the question of future relations between England and the colonies, and stated in the call that the government appeared to have announced as its policy "that (except to the extent of partial protection in case of foreign war with civilized powers) the mother country recognizes no responsibility for their welfare or safety nor any obligation to help them, even in circumstances of great danger and pressing need."⁴ To the meeting of this conference Lord Granville objected, and the *London Times*, in a leader on the call which had been issued for it, graciously in-

¹ *The Spectator*, Aug. 23, 1869, p. 1001.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1869, p. 1333.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1869, p. 1414.

⁴ The invitation is dated Aug. 13, and is printed in the *Times*, Aug. 26, p. 9. Lord Granville's dispatch on the subject is dated Sept. 8, and is given in the *Times* of Dec. 17, p. 7.

formed the colonists that England could be called their mother country only in a historical sense, only in the sense in which Schleswig Holstein was the mother country of England.¹ These events were in 1869.

Early in 1870, Mr. Alexander Galt, a Canadian political leader, received the honor of knighthood from the home government. As he was at that time a public advocate of the policy of independence for Canada, he was criticised for accepting the honor. In defending himself, he said that when the offer was first made him he had informed the English government of his views on the subject of independence and had stated that if these views were inconsistent with the honor, he must decline to receive it. He had therefore drawn the inference that his views were in accordance with those of the British cabinet—an inference that would certainly need no argument when the honor followed such a declaration on his part.² Later in the year, in the Canadian Parliament, "it was openly stated by Sir Alexander Galt, Mr. Huntingdon, and other prominent members of the Assembly, that it was with unfeigned regret that they had come to the conclusion that it was the deliberate intention of Her Majesty's ministers to bring about a separation between the two countries."³ In Canada and in the Cape Colony, the royal governors publicly discussed the separation of the colonies from England as something quite within the range of probability.⁴

These facts, becoming known within the space of a few months, were a sudden revelation to the British public that the government of Mr. Gladstone was preparing to act upon the theories which had so long been taught, and to force upon the colonies the independence which they ought to desire.⁵ The

¹ *The Times*, Aug. 26, p. 8.

² *The Spectator*, Mar. 26, 1870 — vol. 43, p. 393.

³ *The National Review*, vol. v, p. 214.

⁴ *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 810.

⁵ I am not here concerned with the question whether the government's intention was in every particular correctly interpreted — probably it was so only in the main, — but with the causes of the popular feeling which gave rise to the idea of imperial federation. Of these the newspapers and reviews are better evidence than the blue books.

effect of this revelation on the public was unmistakable. The judgment of the nation as a whole, which in the end controls the policy of cabinets and ministers, proved to be thoroughly sound when it was brought to face the question, not as one for debate merely, but as a practical one demanding immediate action. Aroused public feeling brought itself to bear on the ministry, in all the various ways which Anglo-Saxon public opinion has of making itself felt. There were letters to the *Times* and heavy articles in the reviews, and speeches and questions in Parliament. Public meetings were held for the enlightenment of the nation and the discussion of plans. There were deputations to the ministers, and protests from the colonies.

It was the New Zealand question on which public opinion centred as the one demanding immediate settlement, and it was on this that the victory was gained over the Liberal policy of dissolution. So evident and so decided was the general feeling, that it brought about a quick reversal of the ministerial policy in the matter. The New Zealanders were allowed the use of imperial troops, and their loan was guaranteed — first of five hundred thousand pounds, and then of a million. At the end of May, 1870, there was a leader in the *Spectator* on this sudden change of the cabinet's policy, which it called "the death-bed repentance of the colonial office," in which it said: "Ministers have changed their policy, have changed it abruptly, and have changed it for the best of all reasons — because they had begun to discover that their line was not the line of the people of England, and would, if pushed to its logical results, end in events which would bring down the bitter displeasure of the people of England."¹

It was in connection with these events that the first discussion of imperial federation arose, at least in such a way as to attract attention to it as a plan that might prove practicable. There had been some incidental and not very definite suggestion of the possibility of a federation between England and her colonies, as early at least as the controversies to which Prof. Goldwin Smith's letters gave rise, but such suggestions had

¹ May 21, p. 632.

attracted no general attention, and the idea seems to have been regarded as a pleasant speculation merely, useful for purposes of debate, but hardly likely to be put into practical operation. The following passage from the *Saturday Review* of February 15, 1862, may be taken as a fair specimen of these early references to the subject. It is a passage not without interest also, from the internal evidence which it affords of having been written during the American civil war. The writer, criticising Mr. Smith's idea of a friendly separation, says: "Certainly it is a bold assumption to take for granted the absolute certainty of a transaction [that is, friendly separation] the like of which had never been attempted since the world began. It would perhaps be less extravagant to imagine a continual approach on the part of England and her colonies to the realization of some idea of Federal Empire, which the democratic machinery of the United States has so signally failed to construct."

In the crisis of 1869 the subject was again referred to in a similar way, for purposes of debate, but with a greater definiteness and clearness which showed that, in the thinking of the nation at least, some progress had been made. In an article in *Frazer's Magazine* for January, 1870, in answer to objections, Mr. Froude wrote:¹ "Neither the terms of the federation, the nature of the Imperial council, the functions of the local legislatures, the present debts of colonies, or the apportionment of taxation, would be found problems hard of solution, if the apostles of *laissez-faire* could believe for once that it was not the last word of science." A few days before this article of Mr. Froude appeared, the *Times* said, in a leader on the colonial troubles: "Lord Granville and his colleagues are called upon to consider the whole subject, and either to extract a principle of government from the precedents they find recorded at the colonial office; or to throw over these traditions and devise a system of federal government without an example in the history of our Empire."² These quotations, it will be seen, indicate some thinking on the subject, but not as yet any tendency to urge

¹ Also in Froude's *Short Studies*, vol. ii, p. 173.

² *The Times*, Dec. 29, 1869, p. 6.

the actual adoption of a federal organization. This next step in advance was, however, immediately taken.

In January, 1871, an article was published in the *Contemporary Review*, entitled "Imperial Federalism." It was by Mr. Edward Jenkins, the author of a clever sociological satire called "Ginx's Baby." The publication of this article is usually referred to as the first definite date in the imperial federation movement, and as giving it a name. What Mr. Jenkins really did in inventing the name, was to put together two words, both of which had been in frequent use in the discussions of the preceding ten years, as in the passage quoted from the *Saturday Review* of 1862, where the expression is "a federal Empire." In doing so, however, he certainly coined a most effective term, afterwards used in the slightly different form of "Imperial Federation," and this helped to crystallize the ideas of the opponents of the government's policy and to form them into a party — no slight service at the time. This article and another¹ which followed in the April number of the same review, were the first extended discussion of imperial federation, which Mr. Jenkins treated not as a mere academic theory, as it had hitherto been regarded, nor as an impossible dream, but as a practicable plan which England must be persuaded to adopt, if the Empire was to be saved from impending dissolution. The articles are an impassioned and vigorous argument against the ministerial policy, and in favor of a close organization on the model of the federal systems in use in the United States and Canada. This was a more important service than the invention of a name, and Mr. Jenkins justly deserves the honor of beginning the imperial federation movement, as a movement with a definite aim and purpose.

It was four years, however, from the appearance of these articles before the proposal was taken up by any active politician as a measure with which he ventured to identify himself. During the interval, the subject received frequent discussion in public meetings and in the press,² and a new colonial question

¹ Entitled *An Imperial Confederation* — vol. 17, pp. 60-79.

² A sketch of the discussion of this time will be found in Young, *Imperial Federation*, pp. 68-70.

of the time also served to keep alive interest in the relation between home and colonial governments. This was the question of the annexation of the Fiji Islands, in which the English government seemed for a time, as the Australian colonists thought, determined to sacrifice their interests.¹

Notwithstanding increasing interest in the subject, the federation movement still lacked one most important support in the eyes of the average Anglo-Saxon. It had not as yet received the sanction, as I have said, of any one who could be called a practical statesman. As the *Times* said in 1884,² in a leader on the formation of the Imperial Federation League, speaking of the troublous times of 1869-70, "There were some even then who contended for the principles of a federal union between the mother country and her colonies, but the question was not regarded as a practical one, and it would have been difficult to induce any politician of mark to identify himself with a project which seemed likely to remain a splendid but impracticable dream." In other words, until taken up by some party leader whose political future might depend upon the cause he advocated, the federation plan failed to meet the test universally applied by all who speak the English language to every proposal — it was not practical.

This lack was at last supplied by Mr. W. E. Forster, the Liberal leader, who, in an address delivered in Edinburgh in November, 1875, announced his belief in the feasibility and wisdom of imperial federation, and urged it upon the attention of the nation.³ It may have been, as some one said later, that

¹ One point of interest in the debate on this question may be mentioned. The later fashion of denying or explaining away views not favorable to the Empire extended to Mr. Gladstone, but in his argument against the annexation of the Fiji Islands he comes very near to saying in explicit terms, he certainly implies, that the troubles which New Zealand had brought upon England were so great as to make the development of that most interesting and instructive of all colonies a public misfortune. One hardly knows in what terms to characterize such an opinion, and prefers to hope that Gladstone did not hold it.—See *Parl. Debates*, 3d series, vol. 221, cols. 1285-1286.

² July 30.

³ *Our Colonial Empire*, printed in full in the *Times* of Nov. 6, p. 10.

at the time Mr. Forster was walking in the dry places of opposition seeking rest and found Imperial Federation, but certainly the adhesion to the scheme of a statesman so popular and so universally respected, gave the plan a dignity and influence which it had not before possessed. For a time, however, other public men seemed to hesitate to follow the example set by Mr. Forster, and no progress was made toward the actual adoption of a federal organization until early in the eighties, when the difficulties crowding upon the Empire in both foreign and colonial affairs created a strong, though apparently a temporary, current in favor of some immediate action.

The step then taken was the organization of the Imperial Federation League, and the circumstances which brought this about are very significant and lend much support, in my opinion, to the belief that if federation is ever adopted as the actual constitution of the British Empire, it is far more likely to be done in some moment of threatening danger, than as the result of any amount of discussion in peaceful times. These circumstances at home and abroad are best stated in the words of Mr. Greswell, a writer of note on colonial subjects.¹ He says: it was "a period of political unrest, agitation, and doubt. * * * Ireland, Egypt, and South Africa all contributed their share of anxiety at that time to the rulers of this country, and the English people themselves seemed to be walking along an endless valley of humiliation. Forces were at work which seemed powerful for evil, and in many places to make for rebellion, war and the disintegration of the Empire. The heart of the nation was touched to the core by the base desertion of Gen. Gordon in Egypt, and the ignominy was felt by our colonists to extend far beyond the frontiers of the Empire. In South Africa there had been an unparalleled record of disaster and disgrace, since 1879-80, and on the borders of the Transvaal, in Zululand, on the south west coast, and even in Kaffirland and Pondoland the good name of England had for several years been impeached. In Ireland the 'Cavendish' tragedy had for once stirred national sentiment to its utmost

¹ *The National Review*, vol. 14, p. 186.

depths and caused a tremor of apprehension to pass over the land. * * * Abroad and especially in the Pacific and along the African coasts there seemed to be indications on the part of France and Germany of taking advantage of England's extraordinary misfortunes and we heard of annexations in many unexpected places. The Congo conference was really a snub to England and Prince Bismarck guided, if he did not head, the German craze for a colonial Empire."

Already, early in the year referred to, 1884, some of the most devoted friends of imperial federation had reached the conclusion that the time had come for a forward step. They formed the plan of bringing together a conference of prominent men, without reference to party, but interested in maintaining the unity of the Empire, for the purpose of discussing the next move to be made to further the cause. This proposal received the hearty support of Mr. Forster, and a voluntary committee was at once formed to carry it out.¹ It was the feeling excited by the difficulties besetting the nation which have just been recounted that gave a general support to the idea of some immediate action, and it was in the spirit natural to such a time that the conference met at the end of July of this year. As described in the *Times* of the next day,² the conference "included representatives official, and unofficial, of all the more important colonies, and conspicuous members of both political parties at home. Mr. Forster was in the chair and was supported by Lord Roseberry, Lord Wemyss, Mr. W. H. Smith, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Stanhope, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Bryce, and other public men of every shade of opinion. Ex-governors of the principal dependencies of the crown, such as Lord Normanby, and Sir Henry Barkly, were there as well as military and naval officers of distinction to whom the defense of the Empire is a problem of the highest practical interest, and colonial High Commissioners and Agents-general and ministers in large numbers."

The result of this conference was the organization of the Imperial Federation League a few weeks later, with Mr. Forster as

¹ Labilliere, *Federal Britain*, p. 23.

² July 30.

its first president. On the death of Mr. Forster not long afterward, the Earl of Roseberry became its second president, and when he took office he was succeeded by Mr. Stanhope of the Conservative party.

In reviewing the work done by the league, and passing judgment on it, it is well to know just what it undertook to do, as stated in the resolutions adopted by the conference by which it was organized. The first of these declared, "that in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is essential." The second, declared the League organized "for the purpose of influencing public opinion, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, by showing the incalculable advantage which will accrue to the whole Empire from the adoption of such a system of organization."¹ It was in influencing public opinion, if not in proving the particular thesis, that the great work of the League was done. The very organization itself, by bringing together in support of the project so large a number of the leaders of both parties, went far to produce upon public opinion a decided effect.

Branches of the League were organized in different places throughout England and in Canada and Australia, while in South Africa a league which had already been formed for a similar purpose, called the Empire League, joined the alliance. A monthly journal was established, and named *Imperial Federation*, to advocate the measures of the League, which continued in publication for a time after the League itself had been dissolved. In 1887 the government, at the suggestion of the League, called a conference of colonial representatives to meet in London, which discussed questions of common interest, though that of federation was purposely excluded, and led as one result to the formation of the Australian naval squadron,—a beginning of colonial contributions to the permanent defense of the Empire. So successful was this conference, that two years later, in July, 1889, the League took steps to induce the government to call another; but Lord Salisbury decided that circumstances were not favorable to such a conference, and declined to entertain the

¹ Lord Brassey, *Papers and Addresses: Imperial Federation*, p. 8.

proposal. Two years later still, in 1891, a deputation of the League renewed the request, but Lord Salisbury again declined to issue the call. He suggested instead, that the League might perform a valuable service by drawing up a definite plan of federation for the instruction of the public.¹ In response, the League appointed a distinguished committee which formulated a somewhat general plan and presented it to Mr. Gladstone, who had then succeeded Lord Salisbury as prime minister.² Though the second conference desired by the League did not meet, the very useful conference of 1894, which was held in Canada, may be regarded as in part at least a result of its activity. These two precedents of successful conferences make it likely that others will be held in the future; and while they are hardly a step toward formal federation,—more likely on the whole to be an obstacle in its way,—they are of great service in maintaining and drawing closer the real unity of the Empire.

Other less formal efforts during these years to interest the public in the purposes of the League, might be mentioned, like the prizes offered for essays on the subject, by the London Chamber of Commerce, and the tour which Mr. Parkin, a Canadian by birth, and one of the ablest advocates of federation, undertook of all the principal colonies, to awaken interest by holding public meetings which he addressed.

After a few years of activity, it became evident that there were very decided differences of opinion among the members of the League as to the specific objects desired, and that efforts to advance any particular plan in the future would be very greatly embarrassed by these differences, even to the injury of the general cause to which all were ready to subscribe.³ So pronounced had these differences finally become, that the most devoted friends of federation were driven to the conclusion that the real purposes of the League would best be served by its dissolution.

¹ *Ibid.*, chap. vi.

² *Ibid.*, chap. viii. For text of the report, see appendix iv.

³ See an article on the dissolution of the League in the *National Review*, vol. 22, p. 814, and Lord Brassey, *Imperial Federation*, pp. 232-234.

This was accordingly proposed in the spring of 1893, and formally accomplished in November of that year. Since that date there has been no organized body in existence whose object it is to further the adoption of an imperial federal government, and though the idea has been by no means abandoned, formal discussion of the subject has been less frequent. In a brief history of this movement, we may regard the dissolution of the League as the proper point at which to attempt a statement of the results which have been produced, though these have been to a considerable extent implied in what has already been said.

First and most important as determining all that follows, is the awakened public opinion, the increased interest of the mass of Englishmen in the colonies, of which I spoke at the beginning of this address. This must not be understood to be the work of the League alone. It was rather the result of a variety of causes. It was behind the popular reaction against the policy of the Liberal cabinet of 1869, and of that reaction the League itself was one result. The change in the national feeling would have taken place to a great extent if the League had never been organized, but the service of the League in this direction was very important. Its peculiar mission was to set forth a definite plan to be realized, and to urge its adoption by the Empire. A specific programme attracted wider attention than the mere expression of feeling or of personal judgment, however weighty. A practical object to work for, even if so difficult as the adoption of an untried system of government, created new interest and strengthened the feeling already existing. To deepen interest into that determination, which Englishmen and colonists alike now profess, that the unity of the Empire must be made permanent, and if necessary by some form of political organization, was chiefly the work of the Imperial Federation League.

With this change has come in a truer estimate of the value of the colonies to England, not as mere producers of wealth, but as an expansion of the race, almost as a component part of the nation. The feeling of the colonies themselves is better understood, and the bond of union between them and the mother country is stronger and truer than when the government at-

tempted to draw it more close by constant interference. Originating itself in a reaction against the policy of dissolution, the federation movement has made that policy impossible for the future. No government will ever again venture to go so near to forcing independence on the colonies, without reference to their wishes and unknown to the public, as did that of Gladstone. The old belief, indeed, in the certainty of colonial independence has practically disappeared, and with it the doctrine that England should strive to make herself wealthier and happier by throwing off all outside responsibility and by seeking her interests within the four seas alone.

The force of this public opinion has had its natural and legitimate effect upon the political parties. This is particularly noteworthy in the case of the Liberal party, most of whose leaders were at one time contaminated by anti-colonial theories. Now, only an occasional voice is lifted in that party in the old strain — never, I think, against maintaining the colonies, but only on the burden of Empire. In fact, so thoroughly has imperial unity come to be the policy of all England, that for many years, now, no practical difference in this particular can be distinguished in the public records of the two parties.

If there is no longer any danger of the dissolution of the Empire from the action of an English cabinet, one further result, in part at least, of the imperial federation movement is, that there is also no further danger of the sort from the action of the colonies. The colonists were never, it is true, possessed with that desire for independence which the dissolution theories took for granted. Occasional prominent advocates of that policy were to be found in some of the colonies about the middle of the century, like Dr. Lang of New South Wales and, for a time, Sir Alexander Galt of Canada, but their following was never large, and they would find even less to-day. While the colonists themselves were never active in support of imperial federation, except in individual cases, the discussion awakened their attention anew to the advantages of their connection with England, and revealed to them the strength of the feeling of imperial patriotism at home, and of pride in the colonies which they had not always had reason to suspect, at least from the

action of the government. One evidence of the new feeling of the colonies towards the Empire, especially significant because almost unknown in the past, is their greater interest in its defense and their willingness to make contributions to it, like the recent offer of the little colony of Natal to supply coal free of cost to Her Majesty's war ships that may call for it. If the time should ever come, it has been said, when the colonies desire imperial federation and ask for it, then it will be realized, and we may add, that it will probably not be until that time does come; but such a desire is likely to arise whenever a closer organization and a more centralized command of all resources seem to the colonies necessary to their safety.

The members of the Imperial Federation League did not succeed in answering all the objections which were advanced against their plan. Urged also, repeatedly, by their opponents to show why federation should be adopted, their only satisfactory answer was defense—a need not likely to be realized until it arises. Urged again to propose some practicable federal constitution,—as by Lord Salisbury in the instance mentioned,—they were able to answer only in general terms. But though the objections stand in the record of the discussion unanswered, no difficulty has been suggested which is not likely to prove in practice less of an obstacle than it seems in theory.

As a matter of fact, it is not the existence of objections, however serious, nor the inability of the League to formulate a feasible plan, which has prevented the actual adoption of a federal system. None of the objections so far advanced would be felt to be insuperable, if any urgent need existed of a federal government of the whole Empire. It is the absence of any such need, the feeling that the Empire is safe as it is, that no present improvement is to be made by the proposed change answerable to the possible inconvenience and difficulty of such an organization, that has prevented any experiment in actual federation. If an imperative necessity ever arises, Anglo-Saxon political genius, which has already created at least one great and successful federation in the face of obstacles as serious and without the light of experience to show the way, can be trusted

to overcome the difficulties and to form a single successful government of the Empire.

May I venture, in conclusion, to add a word of application to ourselves. Great as was the work of the federation movement, a greater remains yet to be done. The unity of the Anglo-Saxon race as a whole is a higher and nobler ideal for which to strive, than the unity of the British Empire, lofty as that conception is. To strive for the one, does not fall to us who are not citizens of the empire. The realization of the other is pre-eminently our work; and if it is ever accomplished it will be because we have willed it and determined that it shall be. Nothing that England can do will bring it about, except as her action may move us to decision. A single word of ours, like the word which we are told England spoke for us at the beginning of our war, would suffice, by its simple speaking, to establish a unity of the race, for the world would then know that danger to the least of our lands, or to any protected land, would bring the whole race forward in its defense. And this is all that is needed. A federal government is not necessary, nor even a formal alliance. Only a determined resolution, backed by ready power of action, that in the age which is now coming on, when the frontiers of the races draw together and a struggle between them, if it comes, will be the last and the decisive one of history—a determined resolution that in such an age our race shall act as one in behalf of a civilization which is one.

The old attack upon the Empire, whose history I have told, is past, but attacks have not ceased with the gaining of this victory. They are to-day no longer directed against unity and permanence, but against its morality. The cruelty and selfishness of conquest, the wickedness of expansion for mere trade, the demoralizing influence of ruling inferior races, these are the new charges, and the occasional voices lifted in this strain half a century ago have now become a full cry. The justice of these accusations no man can wholly deny. In the history of the British Empire there are many pages only to be read with shame. Our own history records a like story. If we are to undertake in the future still more difficult rule than in the past, we must acknowledge that in all probability we shall have

occasion to blush for many things. Of the beginning we need not be ashamed. A war of mere conquest is one thing. A war begun in the interests of humanity, which entails still further obligations, is quite another. In meeting these obligations, if we are honest with ourselves, if we use our best men, if our rule is more for others than for ourselves, the time will come when our work will be worth all that it may cost, and be so regarded by the world.

The chorus of these accusers is in itself a most hopeful sign. It could no more have been possible, one hundred years ago, than the new idea of race unity, or the steamboat and the telegraph, which make that unity actual. It is a sign of quickened and quickening conscience; and the man who joins the cry is performing, after his kind, a valuable service to the future. But surely that man is blind to his own times, who does not see that under this new attack the judgment and heart of the race are as sound as under the old. There is no determination which has grown so rapidly and so strongly in this nation in the last generation, and I believe the same to be true of England, as the determination to do justice ourselves to other men, to protect the weak, to check wherever possible the merely rapacious, and to hold our institutions, our civilization, and our religion in trust for all men. With this resolution at heart, the nation may make mistakes; it may be badly led; it may not always be able to distinguish between the mere scheming of the politician and the line of true policy; nor always know how to do what it does know should be done; it cannot in a generation free itself from selfishness and greed. If we embark upon empire, we shall not do as well even as England does, and we shall suffer, and those we rule will suffer in consequence. But we shall learn, and we shall, at no distant day, do well. We are now ready, as I believe, to go forward and to find our place in that empire of our race which, under Providence and with all of evil that it includes, is the greatest power for good in the world that history has ever known. If we do go forward, may God grant that it be with our old watchword on our lips, and its new meaning in our hearts — "The Union, one and inseparable."

PURITAN INFLUENCE IN WISCONSIN.¹

BY ELLIS B. USHER.

In 1876 the late George William Curtis began an address before the New England Society of New York by recalling the remark, attributed by Izaak Walton to Dr. Botelier, "that doubtless God might have made a better berry than the strawberry, but doubtless he never did," with the application that "doubtless there might have been a better place to be born in than New England, but doubtless no such place exists."

In the same happy vein he said:

"The Mayflower, sir, brought seed, not a harvest. In a century and a half the religious restrictions of the Puritans had grown into absolute religious liberty, and in two centuries it had burst beyond the limits of New England, and John Carver of the Mayflower had ripened into Abraham Lincoln of the Illinois prairie."

This is the historical epitome of the settlement of the West. The fact, also alluded to by Mr. Curtis, that every American is a "Yankee" to the European, is the wide testimonial and acknowledgment of the pregnant Puritan influence upon our national character.

The tendency of emigration to follow latitude in the westward march of empire has been noticed and commented upon, as applying quite as well to emigrants of American birth as to those who come here from the old world. Perhaps there is no more marked illustration of this natural tendency than the westward movement of the Puritan stock.

The Northern Yankee from Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont has followed the pine trees from New York to Puget

¹Address delivered before the State Historical Convention, at Madison, February 22, 1899.

Sound. The Connecticut and Massachusetts Yankees followed the Connecticut grant, scattering through Northern Pennsylvania and Southern New York to some extent, but making their main lodgment with General Cleveland and his successors, in the "Western Reserve" of Ohio. This emigration extended to Iowa, and was to some extent diverted below its normal line by the anti-slavery troubles of Kansas.

In these general statements I think there is enough of truth to furnish suggestions for the lover of investigation. It is not the purpose of this paper to go into their merits. But the influence of this emigration is so apparent that I am tempted to deal with its manifestations in a State where it has hitherto attracted little attention — the State of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin, two years after its admission to the Union, in 1850, contained but 305,391 people. In 1860 it had grown to 755,881. This increase was largely due to foreign immigration, and of the 91,000 troops sent to the field during the war for the union, more than fifty per cent would, I think, be found to have been foreign born. Foreign blood has dominated the population from the beginning of her statehood, and the census of 1890 shows that of Wisconsin's 1,686,880 people, 74.14 per cent have one or both parents who were born aliens, 25.86 per cent are native born with native parents, and more than half the voters are still aliens by birth. In this foreign blood the Teutonic predominates, the major part of it is German, and, as our free institutions are a development from the spirit of the old frei-mark of Germany, and the Hanseatic cities, we find that no foreigner makes a more jealous and independent free-man than the German immigrant.

The average New Englander is likely to raise his eyebrows at this statement of the strength of our foreign-born element, for he is quite often oblivious to the fact that Boston has a bigger Irish population than Dublin, and that Massachusetts, according to the census of 1890, had 29.35 per cent of foreigners while Wisconsin had but 30.75 per cent. The difference is mainly to be found in the "native born" population. The great majority of the natives in Wisconsin are of the first and second generations in descent from foreign immigrants. Not to ex-

ceed 15,000 such natives could trace an ancestry in this country, reaching to or back of the revolutionary period, without admixture of foreign blood.

This is the fact that is most astonishing in this examination, and it is quite remarkable, in this aspect of the growth of the State, to find the great influence that the little leaven of Puritan blood has exerted from the very beginning.

Thinking that this testimony to the strength and endurance of the most American of American influences may be of use and value, as well as of interest, I have been tempted into writing this paper, more with the hope that the subject may prove inviting to some more capable hand, than with the expectation that I can here do it justice.

There were two constitutional conventions held in Wisconsin Territory. The first, whose constitution was rejected, held in 1846, contained 134 delegates. Of those delegates twenty-nine were known to be New England men, and ten others were of New England parentage, and of the forty-two natives of New York, who were then and have ever since been numerically strong and dominant, there were many names that suggest Puritan origin. In the second constitutional convention held in 1847, there were sixty-nine delegates; twenty-four of these were from New England and five were known to be of New England parentage. Of the thirty-two men who were members of these conventions, who held positions of prominence, fourteen were of New England birth or stock. Brief mention of them will be of interest.

Louis Powell Harvey, a member of the convention of 1847, was born in East Haddam, Conn. His family early joined the movement to the Western Reserve, where Louis got part of a college education at the Western Reserve College, at Hudson. In 1841 he located in what is now Kenosha, Wisconsin, and opened a school; then edited a Whig paper, and was postmaster of the place under President Tyler. Afterwards he lived in Clinton, then settled in Waterloo, whence he served two terms in the state senate, one term as secretary of state, was a regent of the state university and, in 1861, was elected governor. He had served only about four months as governor when he was

drowned by accidentally falling from a steamboat deck into the Tennessee river at Savannah. He had gone South to look after the welfare of the Wisconsin troops. His untimely end interrupted a most useful and promising career.

Harrison Reed, of Littlefield, Mass., one of the early editors of the State, was governor of Florida five years, 1868-73, and held minor public positions.

The most distinguished career was that of Alexander W. Randall, a native of New York, but the son of Phineas Randall, of Massachusetts. He was twenty-seven, in 1846, when he was elected to the constitutional convention. He distinguished himself there by introducing a resolution requiring the question of colored suffrage to be separately submitted to vote of the people. The resolution was adopted after an exciting debate, by a vote of fifty-three to forty-six. Mr. Randall served part of a term as circuit judge. He was governor of the State four years, 1858 to 1862, and was most efficient in raising troops early in the war. In 1862 he was appointed minister to Rome. Resigning in 1863 he sought a military appointment, but was induced by the president to accept the position of assistant postmaster general, which he filled until 1865, when he was made postmaster general.

Experience Estabrook, a native of New Hampshire, was attorney general of the State.

Wm. M. Denis, of Rhode Island, was State bank comptroller.

Edward V. Whiton, of Revolutionary stock, born in Lee, Massachusetts, served several terms in the territorial legislature and was a member of the judiciary committee of the first convention. He was elected a circuit judge immediately after the adoption of the constitution; the circuit judges sitting together *en banc* then constituted the supreme court, over which he for a season presided. When the separate organization of the supreme court was made, in 1852, he was elected chief justice, which position he filled with great ability and dignity until his death in 1859.

George Gale, a native of Vermont, held minor positions and served nine years as circuit judge. He helped organize Trempealeau county and founded the village of Galesville, and Gale

College, for which he left an endowment of \$10,000. He wrote a book on the "Upper Mississippi" that is already one of the rare and sought for books of Americana.

J. Allen Barber, of Vermont, served one term in the territorial legislature and five since the State organized. In 1863 he was speaker. He served two terms in the State senate, and two terms as representative in congress.

John H. Tweedy, a native of Connecticut, was a delegate in congress.

Frederick S. Lovell, of Vermont, was a colonel of volunteers.

The natives of New York who were of New England ancestry held positions as follows:

Charles H. Larrabee was a congressman, circuit judge, and colonel of volunteers.

A. Hyatt Smith and George B. Smith were attorneys general.

Eleazer Root was the State's first superintendent of public instruction. He was of Connecticut ancestry.

To go on with this investigation from the members of the constitutional convention to the men of prominence in the later development of the State, it is apparent that the activity and force of this New England element in public affairs has been maintained with a record quite disproportionate to the smallness of its numbers, as compared with the rest of our population.

To look over our list of governors, who, including Gov. Edward Scofield, number eighteen, one is first struck with the fact that the only aliens by birth who have ever held the office were Lieut. Gov. Arthur McArthur, a Scotchman, who served four days in 1856, during a contest between rival claimants for the office; Edward Salomon, a German, who was not elected to the office but succeeded to it from the lieutenant governorship upon the death of Governor Harvey, and Gov. William E. Smith, a Scotchman, the only foreign-born citizen who ever held the office by election.

The list, in order, with nativity, is as follows:

Nelson Dewey	1848-1852	Connecticut
Leonard J. Farwell	1852-1854	New York
Wm. A. Barstow	1854-1856	Connecticut
Arthur McArthur	1856-4 days	Scotland

Coles Bashford	1856-1858	New York
Alex. W. Randall	1858-1862	New York
Louis P. Harvey	1862-3 mos.	Connecticut
Edward Salomon	April, 1862-1864	Germany
James T. Lewis	1864-1866	New York
Lucius Fairchild	1866-1872	Ohio
C. C. Washburn	1872-1874	Maine
Wm. R. Taylor	1874-1876	Connecticut
Harrison Ludington	1876-1878	New York
Wm. E. Smith	1878-1882	Scotland
Jeremiah M. Rusk	1882-1889	Ohio
Wm. D. Hoard	1889-1891	New York
George W. Peck	1891-1895	New York
Wm. H. Upham	1895-1897	Massachusetts
Edward Scofield	1897-	Pennsylvania

Beginning with Governor Dewey, who was born in the "Nutmeg State," five of the eighteen were New England men by birth, while Governor Fairchild, who had a distinguished civil and military career, was born of Massachusetts parents. He was Consul to Liverpool, Minister to Spain, National Commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, and also of the Loyal Legion.

Governor Rusk's name suggests the Yankee filtered through the Western Reserve.

Randall and Peck are known to have a like origin, and other names suggest the same lineage.

Of all these men, probably the ablest and the most distinguished was Cadwallader Colden Washburn, who was one of a remarkable family, three brothers of which simultaneously represented three different States in congress for several terms during the civil war, and a younger brother has since been United States senator. He settled in Wisconsin in 1842, at Mineral Point, where he formed a partnership with Cyrus Woodman, also a native of Maine, that lasted for eleven years, and laid the ground-work for large fortunes for both of them. They practiced law to some extent, but the development of the country drew them into the land and banking business and resulted

in a large ownership of pine in Northern Wisconsin, that later grew to great value. Mr. Washburn was elected to congress in 1854 and this partnership was dissolved, though the two men were forever after devoted friends and frequently interested in each other's enterprises. Mr. Washburn served five terms in congress, and his civil career was supplemented by three years' service in the army, most of the time with the rank of major general. His business operations after the war were mainly devoted to his large flouring industry at Minneapolis, though he retained his Wisconsin residence and interest in lumbering to the last. He was a man of large abilities, great force and perfect rectitude.

It is a notable fact that in the supreme court the two justices who were of foreign birth, both of them jurists of great ability, James G. Ryan and Samuel Crawford, were natives of Ireland, and that notwithstanding our large preponderance of German blood, it has made few conspicuous successes in the law. The State has never had a justice of the supreme court, nor, until recently, a circuit judge of German birth.

Like the list of governors, the list of justices of the supreme court begins with a New England name, to which I have already alluded, Chief Justice Whiton. Luther S. Dixon, a native of Vermont, was another distinguished chief justice. These and Jason Downer, also a Vermonter, are the only New England men who have been justices since the separate court was organized, until the recent appointment of Justice Dodge; but New York, which has furnished ten of the seventeen, has several to her credit who must go to New England for a pedigree.

The same conditions obtain as to the circuit bench, where New York has continued to furnish a large share of the judges, as such names as Doolittle, Larrabee and Wentworth would plainly suggest.

Of the men of New England birth who have occupied the circuit bench, Timothy O. Howe, his nephew James H. Howe, and G. W. Washburn, all of Maine; Wyman Spooner, of Massachusetts; L. S. Dixon, George Gale, George W. Caté and O. B. Wyman, of Vermont, are the principal names. Of these

James H. Howe, who was also a United States district judge, Luther S. Dixon, Wyman Spooner, and George W. Cate would easily lead the list.

Wisconsin has had, including the present incumbents, eleven United States senators whose average of ability and influence has been remarkably high. Four of these men, Charles Durkee, Mathew Hale Carpenter, Philetus Sawyer and William Freeman Vilas, were natives of Vermont; Timothy O. Howe, already alluded to, was from Maine; Mr. Doolittle's ancestry runs back to Connecticut; John C. Spooner's father was born in Massachusetts, though he was himself born in the Western Reserve, and John L. Mitchell's mother is a native of Massachusetts.

Throughout the field of public life the Yankee and his descendants have held this prestige. I find them among the State superintendents of schools, as witness the names of Josiah L. Pickard, Edward Searing, Lyman C. Draper, Wm. C. Whitford, Jesse B. Thayer and John Q. Emery; while a suggestion of the source of our educational inspiration is found in the names of the Rev. A. L. Chapin, of Beloit College; Rev. William Harkness Sampson, of Lawrence University; Amos A. Lawrence, of Boston, who endowed the university that bears his name; Edward Cooke, of Boston, its first president; Rev. J. W. Walcott, president of Ripon College in 1853; Rev. C. Whitford, president of Milton College; Simeon Mills, who, as one of the first regents, bought the site and superintended the erection of the first building for the State University; John H. Lathrop, first chancellor, Henry Barnard, the second chancellor, the Rev. John Bascom and the present incumbent, Charles Kendall Adams, of its later presidents, and many other men of New England origin, have had great influence in this field.

It is an interesting fact that when the civil war began in 1861, the roster of every early regiment, and the names on every early subscription paper, bore testimony to the patriotism of the descendants of the Pilgrims, and among the Wisconsin men who won distinction in the field they bore a noble part. Of the commanders of the famous "Iron Brigade," General Lysander Cutler was a native of Massachusetts, while General Edward S.

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Bragg, who has since served in congress and made a national reputation in civil life, is the grandson of a man who fought under the stern old fellow who said, at Bennington, that he would win the fight or leave Molly Stark a widow. General Fairchild's ancestry is in Massachusetts, and General John A. Kellogg's in Connecticut. This brief allusion to a most distinguished command is typical of the Wisconsin record in that war.

In special fields, two of Wisconsin's most famous citizens, Lyman C. Draper and Increase A. Lapham, are to be counted among the descendants of New England. The former helped to form the school system of the State and did a wonderful work in making the Wisconsin State Historical Society one of the greatest depositories of Americana in this country, a shrine that every historian of the West must visit. The latter, as a geologist and student of anthropology, gave an early impulse to the study of the natural wonders of the State and left enduring monuments to his own patient research.

From the days of 1767, when John Carver of Connecticut first put Yankee foot on Wisconsin soil, the forests have been the temptation to many of the new Pilgrims from the East. Every township of pine in the State will bear testimony to their visitations. At Green Bay the first lumberman (1827) was Col. Ebenezer Childs.

Daniel Whitney was the first man to invade the pine forests of the Wisconsin river in 1827-8. H. S. Allen, a Maine Yankee, was sawing lumber in Dunn county in 1835. And the long line of New England names has many who have been known in other fields: Philetus Sawyer, C. C. Washburn and Daniel Wells, Jr., served in congress, while the Cranes and Libbys of Oshkosh; the Shaws, Randalls, Marstons, and Eastons, Eau Claire; Hixons, Colmans, Pettibones, Holways, Bussells, Withees, La Crosse, and dozens of other prominent names to be found in every lumber district of the State, attest the activity and success of the New Englander in this chosen field of industrial enterprise.

Among the merchants and manufacturers of Milwaukee, the metropolis of the State, T. A. Chapman, of Maine, amassed a fortune and led the trade in dry goods.

Edward P. Allis, of Massachusetts, led not merely the State, but the Northwest, in the manufacture of steam engines and mill and other machinery; while such men as J. H. Mead (Vermont), of Sheboygan, banker and manufacturer; Abel Keyes (Vermont), lumberman and miner of Menasha; Lucius Blake (Vermont), manufacturer, of Racine; Arabut Ludlow (Vermont), of Monroe, banker and businessman; Rufus B. Kellogg (Massachusetts), banker, Oshkosh and Green Bay; Augustus Ledyard Smith (Connecticut), Appleton; H. H. West (Connecticut), and Levi H. Kellogg, L. A. Wheeler (Vermont), Charles H. Larkin (Connecticut), Abner Kirby (Maine), and Franklin J. Blair (Massachusetts), prominent Milwaukee merchants, suggest the general diffusion of the enterprising Yankee throughout all the pioneer mercantile enterprises.

In another important field of development, that of railroads, New England blood has been much in evidence. In the early days of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway, Byron Kilbourn of Connecticut, and E. D. Holton of New Hampshire, were leading spirits. S. S. Merrill, who came to be its general manager, was another New Hampshire man, as was his assistant, H. C. Atkins. Wm. R. Sill one of the early chief engineers, and his assistant H. I. Bliss, were both from Connecticut. H. C. Dodge, one of the later engineers, was from Connecticut, and Don J. Whittemore, the present chief engineer, was born in Vermont. John Catlin, who was one of the moving spirits, and president of the Milwaukee & Mississippi road, the present Prairie du Chien division of the C., M. & St. P. road, was a Vermonter. Perry H. Smith, James H. Howe, and other leading spirits of the Chicago & Northwestern system, were likewise from the East. David M. Kelley, of Massachusetts, built the Green Bay road; D. A. Baldwin, H. H. Porter (Maine), John C. Spooner and Edwin E. Woodman, a descendant of Edward Woodman, of Newbury, Mass., are among the leading names of the Omaha system, while the Wisconsin Central was built by Gardiner Colby, his son Charles L., and the Abbots, all Yankees.

In no field has the influence of New England been more potent in forming Wisconsin than in the press. Among the pioneer editors are General Rufus King (Massachusetts an-

cestry, father of Brig. Gen. Chas. King, soldier and writer), General Albert G. Ellis (Massachusetts stock), C. C. Sholes, his brother Charles Latham Sholes (Connecticut), Daniel W. Ballou (Vermont), Maj. L. H. Drury (Vermont), Sterling P. Rounds (Vermont), Henry Leach Devereaux (Massachusetts), Chas. S. Benton (Maine), Chas. Seymour (Vermont), Harrison Reed (Massachusetts), David Atwood (New Hampshire), George H. Paul (Vermont), Levi Alden (Vermont), and a host of others, are on this roll. General Ellis started the first Wisconsin newspaper at Green Bay, in 1822.

The ministers among the pioneers were many of them of New England stock or ancestry. The names of Cutting Marsh, Brunson, Irish, Colman, Chapin, Sherwin, Clapp, Goodenough, McClellan and Kidder, are a suggestive supplement to those already mentioned among the promoters of the schools and colleges.

There is no need to multiply names or suggest fields for investigation. The Yankee was a pioneer in every part of Wisconsin. He has linked his name with every important industry, except that of brewing, and with every section of the State. Though few in numbers, the New England men have been a potent factor in shaping this commonwealth, and however the foreign blood has or may predominate, theirs is the pattern that has been set and must be followed.

It has sometimes been a matter of wonder that Wisconsin, so overwhelmingly foreign in its population, should be so distinctively American in all its institutions of government, in its educational impulse and its progress. I have endeavored to solve the question in these inquiries, incomplete and hasty as I have been compelled to make them. Wisconsin institutions have been dominated by Americans of the Puritan seed from the beginning.

In this exposition of what will to some be a new idea as to the dominant influence in the upbuilding of this great commonwealth, there has been no intention or desire to belittle the character, ability, or influence of any of its other worthy inhabitants. It is not less their privilege to enjoy glorification of their own nativity, nor less their right to be proud of the fact

that they were nurtured under other than New England skies because the Yankee cheerfully admits his own importance.

In truth, the principal points in the Yankee's favor seems to be his large influence in proportion to numbers, his force, and his ubiquity.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BELOIT, AS TYPICAL OF THE BEST WESTWARD MIGRATION OF THE AMERICAN STOCK.¹

BY HENRY M. WHITNEY, M. A.

Externally, the settlement of Beloit was not so very different from what has been found in other parts of the State; but internally it had distinctive features, and those were such as may be called typical of the best pioneering work of the people of American stock. Beloit never went through the period of cowboy domination, with saloons as the chief ornaments of the streets, and the crack of the revolver as the chief diversifier of the monotony of daily life; indeed, it was a long time before the saloon was tolerated, and it has never had great prominence or influence. Beloit never had many people of the restless sort who come to pick up land as a speculation, selling out and moving westward as soon as they can get their price; such people, so far as they came there, on taking a good look at the situation, traveled on without stopping to invest. The pioneers of Beloit came to stay, and their children and grandchildren are still foremost in the life of the city, or have gone elsewhere because there came to them a call. Beloit had many of that class which endures the hardships and makes the sacrifices, spending their strength in the pioneer days, — perhaps, like Dr. Horace White, laying down their lives under the stress, — leaving the profits of the advancing prices and the enjoyment of the advancing comfort, to those who came in at a later day.

The Rock River valley having been opened to settlement by the Black Hawk War, population swarmed in. You know the charm of the whole valley through Rock county, the bold bluffs above Janesville, the projection of Big Hill into the expanse of

¹Address delivered before the Historical Convention, at Madison, February 22, 1899.

prairie, and, lower yet, the location of Beloit, where the Rock is met by the Turtle, at what is now the state-line. The greater river comes down the narrower valley; the Turtle, using the valley of what was in geologic days a great river, draining a great geologic lake, comes westward from Delavan lake and empties its exceedingly various volume into the staid and uniform Rock. At the commanding corner, where the two lines of bluffs come together, is a place where a West Pointer would set an earthwork to command both valleys; indeed, perhaps it was the recognition of this strategic quality that made Major Philip Kearney buy a few city lots just there in the infant days of the village, and perhaps it was the Beloit spirit that made him give these lots with all cheerfulness when Beloit College was looking for a local habitation to add to its name. At the very corner the mound-builders had set a giant turtle, with his head toward the beautiful river scene; or perhaps only toward the fish of both streams and toward the long and shady ravine down which buffalo and deer loved to reach the river to drink; or, again, perhaps only so as to be able to keep one eye on the site of the future Janesville and the other on the sites of the future Rockton and Rockford; or perhaps to see that the state-line did not come any further up. I cannot undertake to answer for the motives of the mound-builders in shaping their totem at this commanding point, but I know that wandering Winnebagoes, long after the settlement of Beloit, came and took a look at their turtle; so, when private Abraham Lincoln went southward through the place, in returning from the surrender of Black Hawk, he found a Turtle Nillage, but it was not a white man's place. You may know that Beloit has the three types of prairie, the level on the north and south, — Rock and Winnebago prairies, — the rolling on the west, and the broken on the east. Fish were in the two streams in such numbers that they sometimes blocked the wheel of the settler's mill; the deer and the wild birds were equally abundant. Turtle Creek would furnish two small water-powers till the settlers could gather their means to dam the Rock. Then there was gravel, unlimited gravel, — six hundred feet or more, as we now know, — and that would appeal with immense force to the New Eng-

lander who had been toiling around the sandy end of Lake Michigan and then through the fathomless Chicago mud. Indeed, the first professor in Beloit College, struggling in Frink & Walker's stage through the hundred miles of mud from Chicago, at last, as the stage went down Roscoe hill, heard the crunch of gravel under the wheel; out went his head at the window, and he asked the driver how much farther it was to that place where he was to try to set a college in the prairie-grass. "Seven miles," said the driver, and the young professor took fresh courage, for he thought that it was an omen that the college, when founded, would never get entirely stalled.

But, to return: we must make out to see some picturesqueness in old Joseph Thiebault, the first white man known to have made Turtle Village his abode. He was a Frenchman trading with the Indians, and (for services rendered to General Scott as interpreter in negotiating, in 1833, a treaty by which the Winnebagoes ceded to the United States all their title to the territory between the lakes and the Mississippi) he claimed all the land lying about his cabin within "three looks." Even if he had two wives with a corresponding number of children, that is not counted a disadvantage nowadays, at least in the congress of the United States. I speak of Thiebault chiefly because he had a log-cabin, for, when Caleb Blodgett came, early in 1836, and for \$200 bought Thiebault's vast and rather dubious claim, the log-cabin, duly cleaned, became the abode of the settlers till they could build for themselves. It is not every community, even in the west, that can place its beginnings with so much exactness. Caleb Blodgett was a Vermonter by way of Ohio and New York, and he was, fortunately, a Beloit kind of man.

Now, let us go to New Hampshire, far north of the White Mountains, and within a few miles of the Canadian line; there, on an affluent of the Connecticut River, is the quaint old village of Colebrook. Those who lived there must have been a hardy race, fit for pioneering. In that village was a group of twelve men who felt that the world had for them something larger and nobler than little Colebrook could ever afford. They formed the New England Emigrating Company in October, 1836, appointed Dr. Horace White their agent, and sent

him across the country by such conveyance as he could hire or buy, to find them a western home. R. P. Crane and O. P. Bicknell pushed westward too, and the three, after looking in many places, saw the strategic value of Turtle village and fixed their choice. They bought one-third of the Blodgett claim and returned to Colebrook to gather up their families and their goods. It has been said that the life went out of Colebrook when they left; I should prefer to say that these men had the vision to see the future to which Colebrook was necessarily destined, and the will-power to get into the path of empire while they were physically fresh. I fear Colebrook would have been as completely overshadowed even if they had stayed. By mid-summer in 1837, the colonists were in their new abode and were breaking the wilderness to the service of man.

Dr. White's wife was from Bedford, at the other end of New Hampshire, and that connection brought to Turtle Village six families of equal sturdiness and value in determining the character of the town. The stamp of the settlement was at once so individual that its fame spread far and wide. The New England Settlement it was called, and it got plenty of abuse for its positive ideas, but also attracted many who liked those ideas and wanted to cast in their lot with such a people. L. G. Fisher, searching for a place, came to Watertown, heard of the New England Settlement, floated down the Rock till he reached it, and was there in time to be chairman of the committee to find a new name for the settlement. It was he who, starting with *Belle* and *Detroit*, evolved the present name.

I have given these fragments of early history, not as new to the historian, but as new to many of you and therefore necessary as a framework in which to set what I may be able to say of a more abstract nature.

Now the first thing that I want to say about my subject, the settlement of Beloit as representing the best westward migration of the American stock, is that these men, and those whom they drew in after them in the earliest days, had an immense amount of practical sagacity. They knew enough to get out of the shadow of the Great White Hills (although if they had staid they might now at last be keeping hotels and coining money at

White Mountain prices from the summer-resorters); they made no mistakes in the steps they took to obtain a location and to settle upon it; they knew the moral value of having gravel under their feet; they knew good land; they knew the value of a quarry, and of good oak-trees; they were attracted by the New England-like look of the country, and especially of the River Rock; they saw that the Rock River Valley must prosper if anything in this region could; they saw that it was a fit seat for empire. It was a piece of hardheaded business-sense to transplant themselves and their households to a place of so much promise; they saw that if they placed themselves at Beloit things must come their way.

And again, they were physically and morally robust. Some of us remember the Irish that came to New England after the potato-famine in 1845; they were often bent almost double, with hooked hands, waxy faces, and wolfish glances; many of them did not know what a sidewalk was for. It is the pride of New England that fifty years of American life have made excellent citizens of the grandchildren of those physical wrecks and mental dwarfs, but it took fifty years and the tremendous power of the New England civilization to do it. I suppose the Italian and the Chinese who come to us are the most enterprising of their class, but the class is low; assisted immigration has dumped some poor material of manhood upon our shores. But just as most of the Germans, the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Scotch are selected stock, so the early settlers of Beloit were selected men and women; they might have prospered in Colebrook, in Bedford, or in the other places whence they came, but they wanted something better yet. They faced the wilderness bravely; they lived, in a way that now seems amusing, by barter and credit; later they had the beauties of wild-cat banking and the business depression of 1836-37 to make them realize what financial quicksands are.

And again, they had large ideas, and so laid broad foundations. They platted the village in 1838 with broad New England-like streets,—streets that a New Englander recognizes at once,—and they made College street the name of one of the choicest. It is an interesting fact that, when the committee; appointed a few

years later to choose a site for the proposed college of the state line, had viewed all the suggested locations, they not only selected Beloit as the town, but hesitated only between two locations, both fronting on that same street.

It is evident that from the start they meant to have a college. As I have wondered why that was, I have seemed to see three reasons: 1. That they were that kind of men: that of course was the fundamental fact. 2. That, being that kind of men, they had felt the great distance of the one college of New Hampshire from any of their old homes, and they wanted the luxury of having one within five minutes' walk—indeed, the plan to place it at the distance of a ten minutes' walk was suppressed. 3. I think they had a seer-like vision of what was likely to happen to them and their children if they did not nurse the church and the school. Have you not felt the sadness of the sight when people, bright by early associations and bright by the attrition of new experience and new acquaintance, have settled down without recognizing that brightening and elevating influences must be carefully fostered about them, and, lacking these, have lost intelligence and spirituality, and their children have lost moral life as well? The West, with all its boasted superiority to the East, has many such cases of degeneration, and they have sometimes proved plague-spots in the body of the state. Now I believe that the Beloit pioneers saw that vision with sufficient clearness to make them want the college as well as the church, that they and their children might be saved from such a fate.

I said that they wanted also the church: they brought along a deacon on purpose. Before they got a church building they worshiped in a kitchen, and the prairie people came in ox-wagons to attend. They started a church-building, getting shingles in Racine on credit, hauling them across the country by ox-power, the driver sleeping under the wagon at night, and they honestly paid for the shingles in the spring. The church that they built was the most stately of the three Congregational churches existing in Wisconsin in 1844,—so stately, indeed, that it got into two editions of the American Encyclopedia, but it was not built by people of wealth, except the wealth of devo-

tion. It is an interesting illustration of their breadth of interest, that when the Congregational church of Madison undertook to erect a house of worship, the people of Beloit, hardly yet emerged from log-houses into houses made of the hard-wood product of their saw-mill, put their hands into their pockets deeply enough to get \$50 to help the folks up here.

They had also great tenacity of purpose. They had experiences that would have made many other towns give up the ghost. They made mistakes, as we strewed our way with errors all through the war with Spain; but they lived down their mistakes, as we hope sometime to see a happy issue of this dreadful Philippine mess. As with us, so with them, the way out was forward and upward. And, finally, they had great elevation of character. You remember that the Indian and the star on the coat-of-arms of Massachusetts are said to mean that the settlers of Massachusetts wanted the star of Bethlehem to shine over the shoulder of the red man whom they found here, to guide him on his way. I have sometimes wished that the motto of Wisconsin were something more elevating than *Forward*; one can at least read into it the sense of *upward*, for that was what many of them meant. Those Beloit settlers meant *upward* when they pressed *forward* from their homes a thousand miles away. They brought the New Hampshire and Vermont brand of civilization and religion, while the more southern parallels were being filled by people of the Connecticut and Massachusetts kind. That difference may be read all over Wisconsin whenever we come upon cities or towns established by people of American stock. They wanted to make a commonwealth that should be good and great. They had magnificent help from men of other nationalities, they had the good sense to coöperate with them wisely, and the two produced a state of which we all are proud.

The other day I was reading about the adoption of seals by various Massachusetts towns. The selectmen have aimed to have something significant of local history: Rutland uses the tree standing at the geographical center of the state. Gardner takes the figure of Sir Thomas Gardner, from whom the town was named; Brookfield pictures the burning

load of hay that the savages pushed against the very last house when they had destroyed all the rest of the ancient village.

Then I said, what representative seal shall we give to Beloit? I understood the significance of the badger for the whole commonwealth: he has a great nose for business; he does no harm if he is not molested, but can make life a burden for those who trouble him; he is remarkable for the skill and the effectiveness with which he scratches the earth. That will do very well for the badger, although we have to spiritualize his attributes a little to be wholly satisfied to have him stand for our state; we wish he could do something better than dig. Then I thought that the totem left by the Winnebagoes would not be so very bad for the seal of Beloit, for Beloit has as yet no seal. The public-library seal has at the center a yawning blank, and the turtle-totem is the thing to fill it. He is looking in the right direction, he is always on duty, he represents an animal that may be slow but is always safe; indeed, one of the race is fabled to have once outrun the speedy but unreliable hare. When our cities and towns follow the example of Massachusetts in this excellent matter of seals, as they are nobly following her example in the provision of public libraries and some other good things, the badger will stand for Wisconsin, the turtle for Beloit, and the seal of a wise and steady progress, intellectualized, spiritualized, working upward as well as forward, will stamp all our public affairs.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH REGIME IN THE VALLEY OF THE FOX.¹

BY ELLA HOES NEVILLE.

The three great nations which fought at different times for the possession of the new world, each left the mark of their influence, which remained for a time on the settlements which they had made. The invasion of the Spanish, in the 16th century, was an invasion by fierce warriors inspired by lust of gold and conquest. The civilization which they founded was scarcely better than that they supplanted. After them came the French, full of the spirit of adventure, with the Jesuit fathers urgent to win the souls of the conquered people, and gather them within the bosom of the Church. Religion and the fur trade went into the wilderness hand in hand; it was expected to found an empire on peaceful traffic, and the gospel of good will.

The English, a nation which left the most lasting influence on people and customs, thought little and cared less for the welfare of the native possessor of the lands. They drove the savage tribes from their hunting grounds; went in and inhabited, or ravaged and destroyed. The policy of the French was different. They came with the spirit of genial comradeship; married and inter-married, and reared their dusky race in the forests — a race from which are descended some of the first families of Wisconsin.

As bold and hardy pioneers of the wilderness, the Frenchman has rarely found his equal. In his own country, what he had of civic ability faded under the voluptuous court of Versailles, while his mind and heart were kept in leading-strings by a

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 22, 1899.

church which was absolute. The new world gave him unbridled liberty; it also gave scope for his energies, and showed the stuff of which he was made. Consequently it became the field of his most noteworthy accomplishments. Here he led the way in the path of discovery, always in peril, but with an indomitable spirit that overcame difficulties and laughed at danger.

When on the Plains of Abraham, New France passed into possession of the English, there was little change in the life of the French habitant. England succeeded to the policy of the French people, who were never colonists; they had not encouraged settlements, and England followed in the same path. She wished the land of the great Northwest to remain a wilderness — the home of the trapper and the fur trader, of the Indian hunter and the French voyageur; a barrier against the growth of the seaboard colonies toward the interior.

Here in Wisconsin, near the old fort at the mouth of Fox River, a little group of French hamlets had been planted, differing in culture and refinement from most other French settlements. Roosevelt, in his *Winning of the West*, in a general summing up of the French in that part of the country, says: "Three generations of isolated life in the wilderness had greatly changed the character of the trader, trapper, bateauman, and adventurous warrior. It was inevitable that they should borrow many traits from their savage friends and neighbors. Hospitable but bigoted to their old customs, ignorant, indolent and given to drunkenness, they spoke a corrupt jargon of the French tongue. All their attributes seemed alien to the polished army officer of old France." It is clearly evident that Roosevelt had never made a study of the French and their descendants in the Fox River Valley, or he would have qualified this broad statement. In contrast to his estimate of the French settler, listen to what an old-time resident of Green Bay wrote in the early years of the century — and this a long time after that of which Roosevelt wrote, when race differences would have grown less, and deterioration of the French greater: "The settlers of Green Bay lived in primeval simplicity; of all people they seemed the most innocent, honest, truthful and unsuspecting. * * * They inherited their manners from their forefathers, the French, and

politeness and good breeding was the rule, from the highest to the lowest. It gave them ease and gracefulness of deportment, often a surprise and a reproach to the Yankees, rendering their company acceptable and engaging with the most cultivated and polite, and insuring in their intercourse with each other the preservation of friendly feeling and good will. * * * Frenchmen who have visited Green Bay have remarked on the purity with which the French language was spoken there compared with the Canadas."¹

I have wondered if the title of this paper were not somewhat of a misnomer. The French left no lasting impression on the development of Wisconsin as a whole; had they never come, the result would have been the same. Yet their influence is undoubtedly stamped on the character of the lower valley of the Fox, and the oldest town in the State, because of it, differs from any other western town.

Augustin de Langlade, the Father of Wisconsin, as we like to call him, planted, in the wilds of what is now a great State, the first home west of Lake Michigan, on the spot hallowed by the utterance of the first prayer to the living God: It stood on the banks of the Fox—about the site of the power-house of the electric street railway of the Green Bay of today—where, according to tradition, Allouez and his followers landed on the eve of the day of St. Francis Xavier, 1669, and celebrated mass, after their perilous journey.

The descendants of Charles de Langlade, son of Augustin, while not of pure blood, have yet been possessed of all the peculiarities of their French ancestry. They intermarried with other French families, which were gradually added to the settlement; and when the Americans came, the whole formed one neighborhood, controlled by French tastes and manners. The people were liberal, free-handed, and generous, intelligent and appreciative of the advantages of education. School-houses soon sprung up, and it is noted that every list of contributors to the support of the schools is liberally headed by a Grignon, a descendant of the De Langlades. The daughters of the family were sent to the convents of Montreal to complete their educa-

¹ A. G. Ellis's "Recollections," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 219, 220.

tion, and they returned to La Baye, modest and virtuous, with a good education in the French language, a smattering of music and the arts, and irreproachable manners.

The French nation has never been noted for any of the characteristics of our Puritan ancestors. They were volatile, fond of ease and amusement, and, while upright and honest, were not given to steadfastness of purpose. They took up land along the river, — two or three arpents wide, and running back indefinitely, — and cultivated these small farms just enough for the sustenance of the family — an easy task, for the land responded readily to cultivation, without the labor needed to revive an exhausted soil. Meat and fish were to be taken almost from the doorstep; and clothing was furnished from the spoils of the chase. The women had inherited from their ancestors a skill in culinary art; their preparation of the native foods was famed, even in foreign countries. Entertainment was lavish, without the weary restraints of formal etiquette and conventional rules. Under the low, bark roof there could always be found a fiddler ready to wield the bow, and moccasined feet tripped merrily to the gay tunes. Light and graceful, the native belles held sway, and many a young officer of aristocratic lineage forgot the claims of civilization in the witchery of their smiles.

Life was gayest in the autumn, for then the voyageurs from Quebec began to arrive on their way to the winter posts on the Mississippi. Their approach was heralded by the sound of gay boat-songs, caroled as they paddled their canoes up the river. They settled upon the little cantonment like a flock of birds of gay plumage, so brilliant was their attire. With shirts of gaudy stripes, blue trousers banded about the waist with scarlet sash, jauntily tied at one side, around the throat loosely-knotted colored kerchiefs, the head covered by a worsted cap or turban of variegated hue, this brilliant company always started a conflagration of fun, which, so long as they remained, ran riot.

In none of the other settlements of the State was life enjoyed to the same extent. Letters from the native youths exiled to the hamlet of Milwaukee are yet extant, in which the writers yearn for the pleasures of La Baye, especially for its music. "There isn't a fellow here who knows how to play a fiddle,"

bemoans one poor young man. Another, becoming unutterably weary of a winter there, made the long journey of over a hundred miles on snow shoes and alone, for only one week of unalloyed pleasure at La Baye Verte. It was then called "The City," in acknowledgment of its lively character.

The Grignons, Roys, Ducharmes, Brunettes, and Chevalliers formed a charmed circle. Some of them, through the fur trade, acquired considerable property, and were considered, for those days, wealthy men. Augustin Grignon, who had settled at the Kaukaulin rapids, lived in feudal style, and, with his Pawnee slaves and a number of engagés, exercised a hearty, though primitive, hospitality. His house was often so crowded at night as to inconvenience himself and family; but the cordial welcome, the happy smile, and the bountiful good cheer, never failed.

There were other men than those mentioned who left their stamp on the character of the first white settlement in Wisconsin — men of striking and impressive characteristics; but there is not time to individualize. This account, however, would be incomplete without at least brief mention of one who stands out a distinct figure. Judge Porlier was well born, of the old French nobility, and had received a good education in Montreal. It was said by those who knew him, that a few moments in his company assured you that you were in the presence of a man of culture and fine tastes. He was noted as well for his high moral character as for the purity and elegance of his language. Looked up to by his neighbors for counsel and assistance, many of their business papers are found to be in his handwriting; and nearly all, we are told, were made without compensation. It was not alone his superior intelligence and his high bearing as a gentleman which gave him the strong hold he had on the affections of the people, but his goodness of heart, and readiness at all times to help a friend.

The settlement at the mouth of the Fox passed slowly through the successive stages of village, town, city. A decade or so ago, it was sometimes dubbed old-fogyish and slow. It is true that the old town had gotten along in years before it threw off the spirit of the insouciant, happy beginning, and took on the

cold, commercial temper of other communities. It seemed, and yet seems, to hold an obligation to the past, which the present has not power to make it forget. There was a witchery about it that caused each new comer to throw off care, and live in the pleasure of the moment. The houses, through the lay of the farms along the river front, were not far apart, and in the town of Navarino there was a bond of goodfellowship which made the settlers as of one family. Even after the Americans outnumbered the French, there was an intoxication in the very atmosphere, under the spell of which each and all fell. The claims of business were never too pressing to give way to a dance, a sail, or a picnic party.

One bright morning the little town awoke to find itself left far behind in the march of progress. Since then it has never been quite the same. It will always hold its rich legacy from the past; but within the last decade or so, it has become a thriving commercial city. Men of business hold the reins, and the descendants of the old French habitants have yielded acre after acre of their rich possessions, until now they have little which they can call their own. There are but few of them left, but they have the veneration and respect of those who, in their turn, are now old settlers.

But a few years ago, there was occasionally to be met on the streets of the city, like a spirit of the past, a tall, stately woman, above the average height, of dignified presence and imperial bearing—one of the last of the descendants of the "Father of Wisconsin," Augustin de Langlade. Miss Ursule Grignon was a part of the best of the old French régime. Of a gentle, courtly manner, modest and retiring, with a fine command of language, her presence was always a delight. As one passed her on the street, in her black garb, with a shawl drawn tightly about her sloping shoulders, one intuitively felt her birth and breeding. It was a pleasure to receive her recognition, and the personality of her bow was as a benediction. Miss Grignon's last appearance at a social gathering—in early years she was one of the happiest, gayest, most eagerly sought dancers of them all—was in the old colonial home of one whom we of today love and respect, as a part of the last of the old

garrison days. She stood beside her hostess in a drawing room filled with spindle-legged furniture and old pictures, a charming presence, cheerfully, benignly receiving the greetings of the newer, younger, — I can not say better, — Green Bay; a link between the dreamy, peaceful life of the past, and the pushing, commercial existence of today.

The old French régime has passed away. It has, however, left, in the valley of the Fox, a heritage which clings as the odor of flowers to the vase which is shattered, perfuming and refining the rough vessel of clay.

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN PRESS.¹

BY EMIL BAENSCH.

The English language, the simplest and purest of all mother tongues, is the legal language of this land of ours, and "seems chosen," as the philologist Grimm puts it, "to rule in the future in a still greater degree in all the corners of the earth." The existence of a large number of influential American newspapers, printed in foreign languages, may seem inconsistent with this statement, and yet needs neither palliation nor excuse. The existence of such a press is founded on necessity and sentiment. As long as emigration to this country continues, bringing adult persons who are strangers to our language, so long will interpreters be needed to transform these people from subjects of a monarchy into intelligent sovereigns, to guide them in the paths of citizenship and to instill a true Americanism. It also rests on sentiment,— the sentiment of loyalty, that inculcates the edict to "honor thy father and thy mother." We love the language in which our lullabys were sung; in which we listened to the fairy tales as we stood at our mother's knees; in which were given the parting blessings of a father. Such newspapers should therefore not be looked upon as the mouth-pieces of a so-called "foreign element;" but rather should they be gratefully recognized as the representatives of a large and constituent part and parcel of our population, as important, absolutely essential factors in the amalgamation of the races and peoples on our soil, peoples who will leave the impress of their best traits and characteristics upon the now developing American national type.

Historically speaking, the fraternity of the German-American press has been most helpful in the upbuilding of our country,

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 22, 1899.

ever since and even prior to the formation of our government. It followed close upon the heels of the English-American press. Although *Public Occurrences*, the first-born of American journalism, appeared in 1690, yet it was soon hushed by the intolerant spirit of that age, and experienced but one issue. It was not until 1704 that the *Boston News Letter* was published, and marked the beginning.

Thirty-five years later, on August 20, 1739, the first German-American newspaper entered the arena. It was called the *Pennsylvania Historian*, contained four pages, and was thirteen inches long and nine wide. It was published at Philadelphia by one Christoff Sauer. This pioneer printer was a unique character, and it is doubtful whether his like will ever again be seen among the craftsmen. He was a mechanical genius, and is said to have been an adept at thirty different trades, making his own tools, machines, and the usual printing outfit. The paper was intended to be issued quarterly, but being received with immediate favor was soon made a monthly. In 1741 it was enlarged, and in 1749 it was issued bi-weekly. Despite the increase in reading matter and frequency of issue, the price of subscription was never raised, remaining at three shillings, or about forty cents, per year.

This liberality also extended to the advertising department. At first, advertisements were inserted gratis. Later, Sauer charged five shilling for a private notice of "Lost or Found," but even then allowed a discount, stating: "If the notice be answered after the first insertion, two shillings will be refunded; if after the second, then one shilling."

Loyal to professional ethics, he was a truly truthful man. When canards had found their way into the columns, he changed the name of the paper to *Reporter*, warning his readers that its columns did not necessarily contain facts, but what were *reported* to be facts. Some captious critics will claim to be unable to find such frankness in modern-day journalism, and then grow enthusiastic about the "good old times."

But the publishers had troubles in those good old times, similar to those of our own day. Thus Sauer feels moved to enter this complaint: "Those who owe for three years and longer, and

who otherwise have no reputation, must not be offended at receiving a gentle notice." As early as 1751, his subscription list contained over 4,000 names, and later it increased to such an extent that he found great difficulty in printing with sufficient rapidity for prompt distribution. The circulation was not confined to Pennsylvania, but extended into Virginia, Georgia, and the two Carolinas. Hence, with all his gentleness and liberality, he was thrifty, and accumulated a large fortune.

He was a man of great piety, tinged with non-resistant Quakerism. While he abhorred the tyranny of Britain, he preferred humble submission on the part of the colonies to an independence achieved by force. Thus placed between two fires, his fortune and influence dwindled, and in 1778, after an existence of nearly forty years, the pioneer German-American journal ceased to be issued.

A different man was Henry Mueller, who published the Philadelphia *State Courier*, issued twice a week. He had founded the paper in 1762, it being then the sixth German journal in the colonies. He was a man of education, with some literary training, and wielded a most forceful pen. He espoused the cause of the colonists with enthusiasm and fearlessness. He was one of the men who brought out Thomas Paine's *Crisis*, which so stirred the spirit of independence. To his influence, in a large degree, may be ascribed the fact, as stated by George Bancroft, that, while the Germans in the colonies constituted but one-twelfth of the population, yet they formed one-eighth of the continental army.

During the agitation preceding the Revolution, there was naturally an increase of newspapers, but many of them discontinued when the struggle began. After the war and during the early part of the present century, the increase in numbers, influence and ability was very slight. This shows the German-American press to be a barometer of the emigration to this country; when the tide is high, the press prospers and grows; when it recedes, the press languishes.

The earliest German emigration was forced hither by religious persecution; that of a later period by poverty. Neither came in numbers too large to be assimilated. It scattered over the

country, except as to Pennsylvania, where it grouped, and where there grew up a distinct type, developing the so-called "Pennsylvania-Dutch" dialect. There was but little demand or custom for reading, beyond the Bible and the prayer book. However, there are still published some journals originating in that period—several that within a decade or two will have reached the century mark. One has already reached it. The *Reading Eagle*, at first published in the Pennsylvania dialect, has appeared regularly every week since 1796, being the sixteenth oldest newspaper in America. It attained such a large circulation and powerful influence that it won the compliment of "the Bible of Berks county."

But the general character of the German-American press, prior to 1840, was not of high grade—according to Kapp, who made a thorough study of the history of Germans in America. Loeher, another historian, calls the journals of that period "little, harmless birds as compared with the hawks and eagles of the English press." Fuerstenwaerther, who journeyed through the States in 1818, found only twenty-one German-American newspapers—nineteen of that number in Pennsylvania, one in Maryland, and one in Ohio. The last mentioned, the *Ohio Eagle*, founded at Lancaster, Ohio, in 1807, was the pioneer of German journalism in the West. It too, was originally published in the Pennsylvania dialect. Oddly enough, its first publisher was so far Americanized that he had even Anglicised his family name of Zimmermann into Carpenter. The paper was later removed to Columbus, where, I believe, it is still being published as the *Westbote*.

But the latter half of this century, which has chronicled the most wonderful progress in all matters, contains also the most prosperous chapters in the history of the German-American press. Political agitation in Germany during the third decade, and even more aggressive action during the forties, failing of hoped-for results, brought to us an emigration in masses. These emigrants were Americans in spirit before they ever set foot upon our soil. Then, too, they came at a most opportune time—for, instinct as they were with republican tendencies,

they gave a mighty, overwhelming impulse to the anti-slavery feeling and the Union sentiment.

With them came men highly educated and thoroughly trained — leaders of thought, and masters of a pure and vigorous style. To mention names, with justice to all, would extend these remarks beyond their prescribed limits. Suffice it to say that these men, entering journalism, raised the standard of American editorials, irrespective of language. Some were radical and idealistic, it is true, but all were imbued with high ideals, and left their impress on American thought and tendency. Others even attained high rank in the English-American press.

To German-American journalism they gave an impetus, the influence of which is noticeable at this day. Wherever Germans grouped, there appeared the German newspaper as a beneficial adjunct of the settlement. In every metropolis of our land, the German daily vied with its English contemporary in power and influence. Thus it grew and extended with the growth and extent of emigration, until at this time there are but five States within whose borders a German newspaper is not published — Wisconsin alone containing nearly a hundred.

There was one other person who deserves mention in this connection — John Peter Zenger, who, though the editor of an English-American paper, was yet a German printer. In 1735, when the people of New York colony were chafing under the arbitrary and tyrannical rule of Governor Crosby, Zenger established the *Weekly Journal* in opposition to the *Gazette*, the government organ — from which it appears that "organs" are not of latter-day growth. He fearlessly scored and criticised the governor. The copies of the *Journal* were ordered burned by the common hangman, in the public square. Undisturbed thereby, Zenger kept up his lively censure. The judges were ordered to punish him, but refusing, they were promptly removed from office. More obedient officers were found, and Zenger was arrested and languished in prison for eight months, awaiting trial. The leading lawyer of the colony was retained to defend him, and when he attempted to do so he was summarily disbarred. Finally, Andrew Hamilton, the foremost lawyer of Philadelphia, agreed

to take charge of the defense. His management of the case in court was masterful and brilliant. He appealed to the jury to be judges both of the facts and the law, and to take into consideration the truth of the alleged libel. After a trial replete with exciting and sensational episodes, Zenger was acquitted. This first libel case in America had been fruitful of far-reaching and important results. It established the principle that in libel, the truth of the statements made may be shown. Thus, Zenger's case, which Livingston termed the "morning star of the Revolution," became the beacon light of the liberty of the press, without which liberty popular government would be a failure, if not an impossibility.

THE FIRST NORWEGIAN SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA, WITHIN THE PRESENT CENTURY.¹

BY RASMUS B. ANDERSON.

How many Norwegians landed in America between the years 1492 and 1821, it is impossible to determine. We have no statistics to guide us, and we know there was, during that long period, no regular and systematic immigration from Norway. They did not come in collective bodies and form settlements; we are able to trace them only either through their descendants who have kept family records, or in public documents or published works where they happen to be mentioned. In this way Hans Hansen Bergen, Claes Cartensen, Thomas Johnson, and the others mentioned in my *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration*² have been found. But it is fair to presume that a considerable number of enterprising Norwegians found their way to their old Vinland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

From 1820, the United States government supplies us with immigration statistics; but down to 1868 Sweden and Norway are grouped together, so that it is impossible to determine how many came from each country. From 1836, we are helped out by Norway, where the government in that year began to collect and preserve statistics of emigration. These early tables are, of course, more or less imperfect, and we are justified in assuming that the actual number of emigrants was larger than the one given. In the American statistics, the number of passengers and immigrants from Sweden and Norway from 1820 to 1835 in-

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 22, 1899.

² *First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840); its Causes and Results* (Madison, 1895).

clusive, is given as follows: 1820, 3; 1821, 12; 1822, 10; 1823, 1; 1824, 9; 1825, 4; 1826, 16; 1827, 13; 1828, 10; 1829, 13; 1830, 3; 1831, 13; 1832, 313; 1833, 16; 1834, 42; 1835, 31. From 1836, Norway furnishes statistics of Norwegians exclusively, as follows: 1836, 200; 1837, 200; 1838, 100; 1839, 400; 1840, 300; 1841, 400; 1842, 700; 1843, 1,600. From this time on, the Norwegians came to America by the thousands every year, and the means and conveniences for emigration in Norwegian vessels became thoroughly organized and systematized. The immigration from Norway culminated in 1882, in which year 29,101 Norwegians landed in the United States.

The total number of immigrants from Norway from 1820 to the present time is, in round numbers, about 500,000. The immigration from Sweden during the same period amounts to fully 600,000, and that from Denmark is about 150,000 — making an aggregate of 1,250,000 Scandinavian immigrants. Subtracting those who have died, or who may have returned to Europe, and adding the children, grand-children, and great-grand-children of the immigrants, the Scandinavian group — largely domiciled in the great Northwest, but having representatives in every state and territory in the Union — will be found to constitute no small part of our present population. I think we can safely estimate this grand total at 2,500,000, or double the number of actual immigrants.

It is a fact well worth noting here, that a larger percentage of the Scandinavians engage in agriculture than of any other group of our population. One out of four of the Scandinavians engages in farming; while only one out of six of the native Americans, one out of seven of the Germans, and one out of twelve of the Irish, chooses agriculture as his profession.

As will partly be seen from the statistics which I have quoted, Norwegian immigration did not amount to much before the year 1836. In that year, two ships brought immigrants from Stavanger to New York. These were the so-called Köhler brigs — the one named "Norden" (The North), and the other "Den norske Klippe" (the Norwegian Rock). The "Norden" left Stavanger the first Wednesday after Pentacost, in 1836, Capt. Williamson commanding, and arrived in New York, July 12. My father

and mother, and my two oldest brothers, were passengers in this ship. The other brig, "Den norske Klippe," sailed a few days later from Stavanger, and arrived in New York about three weeks later. Each of the ships had nearly a hundred passengers. The following year a ship called "Enigheden" (the Unity), from Egersund, a small seaport south of Stavanger, brought ninety-three immigrants. From that time on, the stream of Norwegian immigration gradually broadens, and a discussion of it does not come within the scope of this paper. My investigations, so far as the actual immigration is concerned, ends with the year 1837; but so far as their destinies in the New World are affected, I propose to watch their progress down to the year 1840, when we shall find them located in half a dozen Norwegian settlements destined to become more or less prosperous.

The two Köhler brigs came from Stavanger in 1836; but, just as the Puritans had their Mayflower in 1620, and the Swedes their Kalmar Nyckel in 1638, so the Norwegians had their little sloop called "Restaurationen" (the Restoration) in 1825, and it was loaded with no less precious human freight.

I am now prepared to go back to the year 1821, where we find the beginning and the causes of modern Norwegian immigration to the United States. Lars Larson (in Norwegian, Lars Larson i Jeilane) was born in Stavanger, September 24, 1787. He became a ship carpenter, and in 1807, during the Napoleonic wars, the Norwegian ship on which he was employed was captured by the English, he and the rest of the crew remaining for seven years prisoners of war. In 1814, he, with other prisoners, was released, and he spent a year in London, stopping with a prominent Quaker lady, the widow Margaret Allen, mother of Joseph and William Allen, who held high positions at the English court. During his sojourn in England, Lars Larson had acquired a pretty thorough knowledge of the English language, and become a Quaker. Some of his Norwegian companions in captivity had also accepted the Quaker faith. In 1816, they all returned to Norway, and at once proceeded to make propaganda for Quakerism, and to organize a Society of Friends. Two of them, Halvor Halvorson and Enoch Jacobson,

went to Christiania, the Norwegian capital, and made an unsuccessful attempt at starting a Quaker society there. Lars Larson returned to his native city (Stavanger), and there he, with Elias Tastad and Thomas and Metta Hille, became the founders of the Society of Friends in Norway. This society still flourishes, and today numbers about 200 adult members. The first Quaker meeting in Norway was held in Lars Larson's house in 1816. He was not a married man at the time, but his deaf and dumb sister Sara kept house for him. At Christmas, in 1824, he married Martha Georgiana Peerson, who was born October 19, 1803, on Fogn, a small island near Stavanger.

Many of the Norwegian officials of that time were inclined to be arbitrary and overbearing; all dissenters from the Lutheran church, which was the state religion, were more or less persecuted by those in authority. The persecution of the Quakers, in particular, is a dark chapter in the modern church history of Norway. On a complaint of the state minister, the sheriff would come and take the children by force from Quaker families, and bring them to the minister to be baptized. Parents were compelled to have their children confirmed, and even the dead were exhumed from their graves, in order that they might be buried according to the Lutheran ritual. These cruel facts are perfectly authenticated, and there is not a shadow of doubt that this disgraceful intolerance on the part of the laws of Norway, as in the case of the Puritans in England, was the cause of the first exodus to America. The very fact that Norwegian immigration began in Stavanger county, is evidence of the correctness of this view. Here it was that Larson, Tastad, and Hille had founded a Quaker society. In Stavanger and the surrounding country many had been converted to the Quaker doctrine, and there were no Quakers in Norway outside of Stavanger county.

As in all lands and times, emigration can often be traced to religious persecution. History repeats itself in Norway, and the sloop "Restaurationen" left Norway in 1825 because Quakers were not permitted, unmolested, to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Of course there were economic reasons also; the emigrants hoped to better their ma-

terial as well as their religious conditions. It should also be remembered that the common folk in Norway were displeased with and suspicious of the office-holding class. There were many unprincipled officials, who exacted exorbitant and unlawful fees for their services. With such officials, ordinary politeness to the common man was out of the question. Thus poverty, oppression on the part of the officials, and religious persecution, coöperated in turning the minds of the people in Stavanger county toward the land of freedom, equality, and abundance in the Far West.

All reports agree that Cleng Pearson, from Tysver parish, Skjold district, Stavanger county, was the man who gave the first impetus to the emigration of Norwegians to America. In the year 1821 he, with a comrade named Knud Olson Eide, from a neighboring parish, left Norway and went by the way of Gothenborg, Sweden, to New York, to make an investigation of conditions and opportunities in America. There is no doubt that they were practically sent on this mission by the Quakers. It is nowhere stated, so far as I know, that Pearson and Eide were themselves Quakers; but I have complete evidence to the effect that they were dissenters from the established church. After a sojourn of three years in America, all of that time presumably spent in and around New York City, they returned to Norway in 1824.

Pearson's reports awakened the greatest interest, and culminated in a resolution to emigrate. Lars Larson (i Jeilane), the same man in whose house the first Quaker meeting had been held in 1816, at once undertook to organize a party of emigrants. Being successful in finding a number of people who were ready and willing to join him, six heads of families converted their scanty worldly possessions into money, and purchased a sloop built in Hardanger, which they loaded with a cargo of iron. For this sloop they paid eighteen hundred dollars. While six of the passengers owned some stock in this vessel, the largest share was held by Lars Larson, who was in all respects the leader in the enterprise. He had acquired a good knowledge of the English language during his eight years' sojourn in Eng-

land, and the general supervision of the preparation and voyage naturally fell into his intelligent hands. The captain, Lars Olson, and mate, Erikson, were engaged by him.

This little Norwegian "Mayflower" of the nineteenth century was named "Restaurationen" (the Restoration), and on the American day of Independence (July 4), 1825, this brave little company of emigrants sailed out of the harbor of the ancient city of Stavanger. The company consisted of fifty-two persons, chiefly from Stavanger and from Tysver parish, mentioned above. When they landed in New York, at 10 o'clock on the forenoon of the second Sunday in October, they numbered fifty-three, Mrs. Lars Larson having, on the second day of September, given birth to a beautiful girl baby.

Their fourteen weeks' journey across the ocean was a romantic and perilous one. They passed through the British Channel, and after a few days anchored in a small harbor near the Lizard, on the coast of England, where they remained until the following day. Here they began to sell liquor to the inhabitants, which was against the law; and when they perceived the danger into which they had thus plunged themselves, they made haste to steer the little craft out upon the boundless ocean. They must have lost their reckoning or been looking for the trade winds, or the captain was ignorant of the art of navigation, or the wind may have been unfavorable, for when we next hear of them they had drifted far south, to the island of Madeira. Near Madeira, they found a pipe of wine floating in the sea. It must have been very old wine, for the cask in which it was contained was entirely covered with barnacles. Lars Larson got out in the yawl boat to fish it up; but while he was putting a rope around the pipe, a shark came near biting his hand off. To celebrate their good fortune, both the officers and passengers had to taste of the delicious contents of the pipe of wine, the result being that the most of them got more or less intoxicated.

They came drifting into the harbor of Madeira without colors and without command. Here it was feared that they had some kind of contagious disease on board, and a German on the wharf cried out to them that, if they did not wish to be greeted by

the cannon already being aimed at them from the fortress, they had better hoist their colors at once. Thorstein Olson Bjodland, one of the party, who was for many years my neighbor in Wisconsin, frequently told me this story. He always claimed that it was he who hunted up the Norwegian flag, and with the assistance of others ran it up to the mast-top, thus averting the danger. A couple of custom-house officials then came on board the sloop, and made an investigation, finding everything in good order. Much attention was shown them in Madeira. The American consul increased their store of provisions, giving them also an abundance of grapes, and before their departure he invited the whole company to a magnificent dinner. They arrived in Madeira on a Thursday, and left the following Sunday. As they sailed out of the harbor, the fortress fired a salute in their honor. Four weeks had passed since they left Stavanger, and for ten long weeks more the little sloop had to contend with the storms and waves of the rough Atlantic.

In New York, quite a sensation was awakened by the fact that these Norwegians had ventured across the ocean in so small a craft. Such a thing had not before been heard of. Here they also got into trouble with the authorities, on account of having a larger cargo and a larger number of passengers than the American laws permitted a ship of this size to carry. In consequence of this violation of Uncle Sam's laws, Captain Lars Olson was arrested, and the ship with its cargo was seized by the custom-house authorities.

The above named Knud Olson Eide remained in Norway until 1836, when he sailed to America in the same ship with my father (Bjorn Anderson) from Kvelve, in Vigedal, Stavanger county. But Kleng Pearson, instead of coming in the sloop, had again gone by the way of Gothenborg, and was already in New York, ready to receive his friends. He had doubtless found Quakers in the American metropolis who were prepared to give our Norwegian pilgrims a welcome, and such assistance as they most needed. I suppose the authorities in New York, partly in consideration of the ignorance and childish conduct of the sloop party, and partly persuaded by the intercession of Quaker

friends, decided to be merciful. The fact is, the captain was released, and the sloop and its cargo were restored to their owners.

The New York Quakers took a deep interest in these new comers, who were destitute of food and money. The Friends gave many of them shelter under their own roofs, and supplied them with money to relieve their more pressing needs. The Quakers showed themselves in this case, as everywhere in history, to be friends indeed. Enough money was raised to pay their expenses — six dollars each — to the town of Kendall, Orleans county, N. Y., where farms could be secured. In 1811, one Joseph Fellows had been appointed agent to sell a tract of land in Kendall. It seems that Fellows suggested the idea of locating these Norwegian immigrants on this land, and thus was the first Norwegian settlement in America founded. Captain Lars Olson remained in New York, while the mate, Erikson, returned to Norway.

The leader of the party, Lars Larson, also remained a few weeks in New York to dispose of the sloop, which he eventually sold, with its cargo, for four hundred dollars. Having been a ship carpenter in Norway, he removed with his wife and daughter to Rochester, N. Y., where he settled as a builder of canal boats. He prospered, and when he died in 1845 he left a handsome fortune. In the years from 1836 to 1845, thousands of Norwegians on their way to Illinois and Wisconsin called at his hospitable house, bringing him news from Norway and getting valuable advice in return. Larson went into business for himself, and in 1827 he was able to build himself a home in Rochester — a house which still stands on the original site, and which no doubt is the oldest house now in existence in America, built by a Norwegian argonaut of the nineteenth century. His widow, Martha Georgiana, died October 17, 1887, then more than eighty years of age.

He left eight children, all of whom are living, and all are married but one. His oldest child was born on the sloop, a little girl named Margaret Allen. She married John Atwater, of Rochester, who afterwards became a prominent publisher in Chicago. Mr. Atwater is dead, but the famous sloop girl is

still alive and well. She resides at Western Springs, in Cook county, Ill., where she has a comfortable home and is surrounded by a family of bright and happy children. Another daughter is the widow Martha Jane, who, born in Rochester sixty-seven years ago, was married in 1860 to the inventor Elias C. Patterson. Martha Jane has the great honor of being one of the first persons of Norwegian descent to teach a public school in America. She taught in New York state from 1849 to 1854; and in 1857 she entered the public schools of Chicago as a teacher. One of the sloop party, by name Ole Johnson, went back to Norway in 1827, and returned in 1829 with a wife.

In the town of Kendall, Orleans county, N. Y., on the shores of Lake Ontario, land was sold to the Norwegians by Joseph Fellows at five dollars per acre; but as they had no money to pay for it, they agreed to redeem it in ten annual installments. This land was heavily wooded, and each head of a family and adult person purchased forty acres. During the first years they suffered great privations. The clearing of the forests required hard work. They longed to get back to old Norway; but they had burnt the bridges behind them, and a return would be not only humiliating, but even impossible. Benevolent neighbors helped them, and in the course of time their industry brought them its reward. As they did not reach New York until about the middle of October, 1825, it was November before they got settled in Kendall, and the cold winter soon set in. The country thereabouts was but sparsely settled at that time, and there was not much opportunity for getting employment or shelter. Twenty-five of them combined and put up a log house, 12x12 feet. Crowded together in this little hut, their patience must have been taxed to the utmost, and only the hope of a brighter future could sustain them under such circumstances. In those days, threshing machines were not known, and these Norwegian settlers made their first little earnings by threshing out grain for the older American settlers with the flail. For this kind of work they received every eleventh bushel. The next year (1826), they cleared on the average two acres on each of their farms. On these they raised wheat, which gave them bread for the next winter's support.

We get a glimpse of this first Norwegian settlement in America from a letter written in 1871 by H. Hervig, who came in the sloop. He says: "After a long voyage we finally arrived safe in New York and went thence to this place in the forest. We were all poor and none of us could speak English. When we arrived in Kendall the most of us became sick and discouraged. The timber was heavy and it took a long time before we could raise enough to support us. I must confess that when we first arrived here, we thought everything was wrong when it was not like what there was in Norway. But we soon found that there were good things even among people who worshiped God in another manner than we did, and we found that the difference was not so great after all."

We get a more encouraging view from a letter written to Norway by Gjert Gregoriussen Hovland, in 1833, after he had lived in Kendall four years. Hovland left Norway June 24, 1831, and went by way of Gothenborg to New York, where he arrived September 18, having been retained in Gothenborg for several weeks. He bought fifty acres of land in the Kendall settlement, and improved it for four years, when he sold it at a profit of \$500. He is loud in his praises of American laws, equality, and liberty as compared with the extortions of the official aristocracy in Norway. He advises all who are able to immigrate to America, arguing that the Creator had not prohibited man from locating where he pleased. Gjert Hovland's letters to Norway were transcribed in hundreds of copies, and passed from house to house and from parish to parish, and many were in this way induced to emigrate. Hovland removed the same year (1835) to Illinois, where he died at a very advanced age. In the *Pioneer History of Orleans County, New York*, by Arad Thomas, published in 1871, I find the following interesting notice of this first Norwegian settlement in America:

About the year 1825 a company of Norwegians about fifty-two in number settled upon the lake shore in the northeast part of the town (Kendall). They came from Norway together and took up land in a body. They were an industrious, prudent and worthy people held in good repute by people in that vicinity. After a few years they began to move away to join their countrymen who had settled in Illinois, and but a few of that colony are still in Kendall.

They thought it very important that every family should have land and a house of their own. A neighbor once asked a little Norwegian boy whose father happened to be too poor to own land where his father lived and was answered "Oh, we don't live nowhere, we hain't got no land."

I have made considerable investigation in regard to this first Norwegian settlement in America, and find that a number of the descendants of the original settlers are still living there. They are thoroughly Americanized; but among them are later comers from Norway, who are able to speak the Norwegian tongue. Many of them are relatives of Lars Larson, the leader of the sloop party. Any one visiting Kendall now will find Mr. Harvig, Knut Orsland, Rasmus Davidson, John Johnson, Henry Orsland, and Mr. Shulstad, with their families, besides several others.

In this manner began the great Scandinavian exodus of the nineteenth century, which has brought to our shores one and a quarter million immigrants; and thus was founded the first settlement which has been followed by so many large and thrifty ones throughout the Northwest. As the sloop party will always be of the greatest interest to all Scandinavians and their descendants in this country, I have taken pains to ascertain who they were. By the aid of some of the survivors, and various others who knew them, I believe I am able to present an almost perfect list. I hold the list subject to future revision and correction, but I do not think it will be found to contain many errors. Here it is:

- 1- 3. Lars Larson, i Jeilane, wife and daughter, now Mrs. Atwater.
- 4- 9. Cornelius Nelson Hersdal, wife and four children.
- 10-13. Johannes Stene, wife and two children.
- 14-18. Oyen Thompson (Thorson), wife and three children.
- 19-25. Daniel Stenson Rossadal, wife and five children.
- 26-30. Thomas Madland, wife and three children. The above named six families were the owners of the sloop, of which Lars Larson owned the largest share.
- 31-35. Simon Lima, wife and three children.
- 36-37. Nels Nelson Hersdal and wife Bertha.
38. Jacob Anderson (Slogvig).
39. Knud Anderson (Slogvig).
40. Sara Larson, deaf and dumb sister of Lars Larson.
- 41-42. Henrik Christopherson Hervig and wife.

43. Ole Johnson.
44. Gudmund Haugaas.
45. Thorstein Olson Bjodland.
46. George Johnson.
47. Andrew (Endre) Dahl, the cook.
48. Halvor Iverson.
49. Nels Thompson, a brother of Oyen Thompson.
50. Ole Olson Hetletvedt.
51. Andrew Stangeland.
52. Lars Olson, the captain.
53. Mr. Erikson.

I have myself talked with eight of the sloop passengers, viz.: Thorstein Olson Bjodland, Mrs. Lars Larson and her daughter Mrs. Atwater, Nels Nelson and his wife, Mrs. Hulda Olson, Mrs. Martha Fellows, and Mrs. John Mitchell; and I have corresponded with a ninth and tenth, Mrs. Sara T. Richey and Mrs. Serena Anderson. Gudmund Haugaas was an educated man, and acted both as minister and physician for the first Norwegian immigrants, thus being the first Norwegian who practiced medicine and preached the gospel in America, within this century. He died a wealthy man in California.

Five of this memorable "Restaurationen" party are still living, viz.: Mrs. Sara T. Richey, a daughter of Oyen Thompson. She was born March 9, 1818, 14 miles south of Stavanger, Norway, and now resides at Guthrie Center, Iowa. Mrs. Martha Fellows, born in Tysver parish, Norway, September 27, 1823. Mrs. Margaret Allen Atwater, daughter of Lars Larson. She was born on the sloop September 2, 1825, and resides at Western Springs, Cook county, Ill. These three became the wives of Americans, and as a consequence they, with their offspring, now bear English names. The fourth is Mrs. Hulda Olson, who still bears a Norwegian name. She is the daughter of Daniel Rossdal, and was half a year old when she embarked in the sloop. She now resides at Sheridan, La Salle county, Ill. The fifth is Mrs. Serena Anderson, daughter of Thomas Madland, and widow of Jacob Anderson Slogvig. She was born in Stavanger, Norway, January 1, 1814, and now resides in Frito, California. It will be seen that all the five survivors are women. The last survivor of the men was Nels Nelson, who

was born July 4, 1800, and died in La Salle county, Ill., September 21, 1886.

From 1825 to 1836, there was but little immigration from Norway. There were as yet no regular vessels for this purpose. Those who did emigrate came by the way of Gothenborg, or Hamburg or Havre, and the most of them joined the colony in Kendall, N. Y. I have been able to trace a considerable number of these, and will give two examples. Gudmund Sandsberg, an educated Norwegian, came to New York in 1829. His daughter married a Mr. Mitchell, brother-in-law of Mrs. Inger Mitchell, and her son now owns a cigar factory in Ottawa, Ill. Ole Olson also came from Norway in 1825. He went to Kendall and thence to Niagara Falls, where he married a Miss Chamberlain and worked in a paper mill. Mrs. Inger Mitchell informed me that she lived with his family in Niagara Falls for one year. Ole Olson finally came west and settled in La Salle county, and his son, Porter C. Olson, became captain (afterwards colonel) of Co. F, of the 36th Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, in the War of Secession. He was struck by a musket ball, which entered his breast and passed through his body in the region of the heart, in the bloody battle of Franklin, Tenn., November 30, 1864, dying almost instantly, his last words being, "Oh, help me, Lord."

Of course a lot of letters were written to relatives and friends in Norway, and these were read by hundreds who were anxious to better their fortunes. Finally Knud Slogvig, one of the sloop passengers, returned to Norway in 1835, and the news that he had arrived at his old home in the Skjold district created the greatest excitement. People traveled hundreds of miles to see and talk with him. This led to the great exodus of 1836, when the two Köhler brigs were fitted out in Stavanger and departed that summer loaded with 150 to 200 passengers for New York. The American fever continued, calling for one ship in 1837, and several in 1838; and the fever has continued to rage ever since, culminating, as heretofore stated, in 1882.

But only a small number of the immigrants of 1836 went to Kendall. They continued their journey to Chicago, and thence to La Salle county, where the second Norwegian settlement had

already been founded. It appears that this location had been selected by the restless Kleng Peerson. Kleng was doubtless the first Norwegian who ever came west of the lakes. He certainly visited La Salle county as early as 1834, and possibly earlier. He claims he had a vision. He had been on a pedestrian tour west of Chicago, to the vicinity of Ottawa. Weary and hungry, he lay down on a hill to rest, and saw in his fancy fields of waving grain and large herds of cattle feeding. He interpreted this as a token from Almighty God that his countrymen should come here and settle. He forgot his pain and hunger, thanked God that he had permitted his eyes to behold this beautiful region, and decided to advise his countrymen to come west and settle there. He thought of Moses, who from the mountain had looked into the land of promise. He returned to Kendall, and in the spring of 1835 he, with several others, moved out to Illinois and founded the so-called Fox River settlement, near Ottawa. I have myself examined the public records, and found that the following Norwegians purchased land in the towns of Mission, Miller, and Rutland, La Salle county, in 1835: Kleng Peerson, Carrie Nelson (the mother of Mrs. Mitchell), Gjert G. Hovland, Thorstein Olson Bjodland, Nels Thompson, Jacob Anderson Slogvig and Gudmund Haugaas. It will be noticed that nearly all these are sloop people.

The immigrants of 1838 nearly all went to La Salle county, and the colony became one of the largest and most prosperous Norwegian settlements in the United States. The immigrants of 1837 also intended to go to the Fox River settlement; but when they arrived in Chicago they heard unfavorable reports from there, so they sent three men south into Iroquois county, where it was reported good land was to be had. The three men returned with a most brilliant report; the result being that a large number at once proceeded to Iroquois county, where they founded, in the summer of 1837, the third Norwegian settlement in America,—the so-called Beaver Creek settlement. But it proved to be a failure. The land was low and swampy, and the air filled with malaria. Many of the settlers were taken sick and some died, and in 1839 the settlement was abandoned.

The Beaver Creek settlement is usually regarded as the third Norwegian settlement in America; but Hans Valder, — who was born October 18, 1813, and still lives in Newburgh, Minn., where he located in 1853, having come to America in 1837, — informs me that he went at once to a small Norwegian settlement in Adrian, Mich., where he found Ingbret Ingbretson Narvig and several others who had lived there a whole year. Narvig may safely be regarded as the first Norwegian to settle in Michigan. The Adrian settlement became entirely Americanized, and has been almost forgotten; but if it is to be counted, it bears the date of 1836 and takes rank as the third, making Beaver Creek the fourth.

Kleng Peerson was a restless fellow. The records show that he bought land in La Salle county, but did not settle on it. He did not care to work, but he got his living by visiting among his relatives and friends. He looked upon himself as a pathfinder and father of Norwegian immigration. How good a man he was, I do not know. He left a wife, Catherine, in Norway, but in the Bishop Hill Colony in Henry county, Ill., married a woman in 1847, and left her the next day. At the houses where he visited, he spent his time knitting mittens and socks, and talking about his extensive travels. He finally went to Texas, where he died at a very advanced age in 1868. His countrymen have put a small monument upon his grave.

The first Norwegian settler in Wisconsin was Ole Nattestad, who, in 1838, settled in Rock county, near Beloit. He was soon joined by his brother, Ansten Nattestad, and in the course of time a large and prosperous settlement grew up in Rock county and across the State line in Illinois — the so-called Jefferson Prairie and Rock Prairie settlements.

The second Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin, and the sixth in America, was the so-called Muskego settlement, in Racine county. Thirty to forty people located there in 1839, and in 1840 they were joined by several others. Hans Heg, colonel of the Fifteenth Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteers, War of Secession, was the son of one of those who came to Muskego in 1840. Here appeared the first Norwegian newspaper published

in America. It was called *Nordlyset* (Northern Light), and made its appearance in 1847.

The third settlement in Wisconsin, and the seventh in America, was the now large and prosperous Koshkonong settlement in Dane county. It is still the wealthiest and most widely-known Norwegian settlement in America. It was founded in 1840. The first Norwegian settlers there were:

Omen Anderson made C. E. No. 7332, June 22, 1840, for west half of southeast quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Björn Anderson, June 22, 1840 — my father.

Lars Olson made C. E. 7333, June 22, 1840, for the east half of the southwest quarter of section 1, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Foster Olson made C. E. No. 7334, June 22, 1840, for the west half of the northeast quarter of section 2, town 5 north, range 12 east.

Nils Larson made C. E. No. 7035, May 6, 1840, for the northwest quarter of section 2, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Magany Butteson made C. E. No. 7033, May 6, 1840, for the northwest quarter of section 2, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Gunnuel Oleson Windeg made C. E. No. 7129, May 22, 1840, for the northeast quarter of the northwest quarter of section 35, town 6 north, range 12 east.

Lars Davidson made C. E. No. 7944, December 8, 1840, for the south half of the southwest quarter of section 28, town 7 north, range 12 east.

Nils Seaverson made C. E. No. 7034, May 6, 1840, for south half of the southwest quarter of section 35, town 7 north, range 12 east.

All of these bought land in Dane county in 1840.

The first Norwegians located in Chicago in 1836. Halstein Torrison and Johan Larsen have the honor of being the first two. Halstein Torrison's house was on Wells street, on the ground now occupied by the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad passenger station. He was the first one to get his own home in that city, where the Norwegians and their children now number more than 50,000.

The Norwegian Lutheran church in America was organized in Dane county, in 1844. A lay Dane, C. L. Clausen, had previously been ordained by a German Lutheran minister, and had been preaching in Muskego and elsewhere. In the Fox river settlement in Illinois, a far-famed Norwegian lay preacher, Elling Eielson, had been holding gospel meetings and had built a house, the attic of which was used as his chapel. In 1844, the

Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson, a Lutheran minister educated and ordained in Norway, came to America and preached his first sermon in the town of Albion, Dane county, August 30th of the same year; and on October 10, the Norwegians met with Mr. Dietrichson on the same grounds and organized a Lutheran congregation. On October 13, 1844, another congregation was organized by Dietrichson in Pleasant Springs, Dane county. That same autumn, these two congregations began the building of churches. The church in Pleasant Springs was completed first, and dedicated December 19, 1844. The other, located in the town of Christiana, was dedicated January 31, 1845. The lay preacher, Elling Eielson, came to America in 1839, and was ordained by Rev. F. A. Hoffman at Duncan's Grove, near Chicago, October 3, 1843. L. C. Clausen, the Dane, came to America in August, 1843, and located in Muskego settlement in Racine county. He was ordained by the Rev. L. F. E. Krause, October 18, 1843. The erection of a church building was begun in the spring of 1844, and the dedication took place March 13, 1845. Thus it appears that the Muskego church was begun and probably finished first, but the two churches in Dane county were the first to be dedicated. Rev. J. W. C. Dietrichson did not come to America before 1844, but he had been educated and ordained in Norway; hence the Norwegians usually date the beginning of the Norwegian Lutheran church with his arrival, although I suppose the Muskego church must have had some sort of organization, inasmuch as it had united in calling Clausen as pastor and had built a church edifice. There is some controversy between Racine and Dane counties on this point, but I think I state the matter accurately by saying that the first church begun and built by the Norwegian immigrants in this country was the Muskego church, but that the two churches in Dane county were the first to be dedicated, and that the Dane county churches were the first to adopt a written constitution and written articles of faith. In this statement I do not take into account the meeting-house built by Elling Eielson in La Salle county, Illinois, in 1842. This was his private property and was never dedicated.

Such was the feeble beginning of the Norwegian immigration.

This is the first chapter of their history in this country. He who continues the story will find a rapidly increasing population, and many new settlements to deal with. The material grows rapidly more abundant and complicated. The Norwegian group of our population is today scattered throughout the United States. There are hundreds of churches and ministers, scores of newspapers, and a large number of colleges and academies. Scandinavian professorships have been established in many of the leading American universities and colleges. The author of this paper had the honor of filling the first chair of this kind.¹ This large body of Norwegians become Americanized fully as rapidly as any other class of immigrants from the European continent. They acquire the English language easily, and make most loyal citizens. They are by nature industrious and thrifty, and pay much attention to the proper education of their children. It is universally admitted that the Norwegians are among the most desirable immigrants to this country from Europe. While the Norwegians have filled a considerable number of political offices, national, state and county, and as a rule with great credit to themselves, they are not an office-seeking class. The Norwegian press is, generally speaking, enlightened, and exceedingly loyal to the highest interest of America and her institutions.

You should not blame the foreigners for clinging to their language and traditions. By so doing they bridge the Atlantic ocean and bring to this country the fruits of all the progress made from year to year in Europe. By clinging to their foreign tongues, the immigrants and their descendants keep in touch with the mother country and contribute an incalculable amount of intellectual wealth to their adopted country. Much of this would be lost if the immigrants cast their foreign garments away immediately upon their landing in America.

¹ In the University of Wisconsin, 1875.

ALLOUEZ, AND HIS RELATIONS TO LA SALLE.¹

BY JOSEPH STEPHEN LA BOULE.

Wisconsin and the whole Northwest owe a debt of gratitude to Father Claude Jean Allouez. Bancroft said of him: "Allouez has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West." J. Gilmary Shea says: "Allouez was not inferior in zeal or ability to any of the great missionaries of his time. * * * As a fearless and devoted missionary, one faithful to his high calling, a man of zeal and worth, he is entitled to every honor."² In a letter dated October 24, 1674, Père Dablon, a prudent and conservative writer, characterizes Allouez in a few simple words, as³ "that saintly and true missionary." Many of Allouez's contemporaries did not hesitate to call him another St. Francis Xavier,⁴ which is, at least, strong evidence of the exalted opinion the Catholic people of New France entertained of the missionary's work and personal worth.

His own accounts of his work are extremely unpretentious; they characterize the missionary as a practical and clear-minded, a scholarly and saintly man; and his stalwart virtue reminds one of the early Christian Apostles. Having chosen as his field of labor the Huron and Ottawa nations in the Lake Superior and Lake Michigan country — in what was then the Far

¹ Address delivered at State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899. Father La Boule is professor of ecclesiastical history at the Salesianum, St. Francis, Wis. He has in preparation *The Life and Memoirs of Père Claude Jean Allouez*.—Ed.

² *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (N. Y., 1853), p. 67.

³ *Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle France, 1672-1679* (Paris, 1861), vol. ii, p. 7.

⁴ *Rochemonteix, Jésuites et la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1895-96), tome iii, p. 536.

West — he labored, with very few intermissions of rest, for more than twenty-four years — from 1665 to 1689 — within the limits of present Wisconsin and Illinois. Rightly, then, Allouez may be regarded as the founder of Indian missions among the aborigines of Wisconsin and Illinois.¹ He is held in grateful and sacred memory by unbiased historians, and by all honest men and women, regardless of race or creed. Yet the name and reputation of Allouez have been trifled with, and, it would seem, by some concerted plan.

Between Allouez and La Salle there existed a mutual dislike, which the missionary in a few instances evinced by refusing to meet the latter. Special stress has been put upon this apparently suspicious conduct, to make him out as a "wily plotter against the interests of La Salle, of New France, and of humanity in general."²

The attack made by innuendo does not touch Allouez alone. The insignificant incidents referred to by Joutel are used as a reflection upon all the Jesuits of New France; and slanders and insinuations against that order have been brought forward in order to magnify La Salle. Strangely enough, our matchless Parkman, an historian of high repute and unusually accurate research, has followed the uncritical G. Gravier,³ and the anti-Jesuitical Pierre Margry, in their undue exaltation of the merits and personal qualities of La Salle. I should not criticise Parkman for having created a hero, were it not done largely at the expense of truth, and of the honor due to Jesuits in general, and to Allouez in particular. Parkman seems to have closed his eyes

¹ He founded missions at Chequamegon Bay, Green Bay (Depere), at or near New London, at or near Berlin, and at or near Marinette, on the Menomonee River. Besides these, he organized the Kaskaskia missions on the Illinois River.

² The principal argument of the writers, who seem to insist that this insinuates intrigue on the part of Allouez against La Salle, is drawn from Joutel's *Journal Historique* (French's trans.), pp. 184, 190. Margry, Parkman, and the writer of "Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle," in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv, give undue importance to the passages in Joutel.

³ Gravier, *Découvertes et Établissements de Cavalier de la Salle* (Paris, 1870).

while "the enemy sowed the cockle" which spoiled his harvest of abundant research, as collected in his *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. In this work I fail to find any decided and cheerful recognition of Allouez's merits, and meet only scant praise of his companions in the early Western missions; and undue importance is given to La Salle's charges against Allouez and the Jesuits.

To understand the meaning and the weight of the accusations made by La Salle's friends against our missionary, it becomes necessary to glance at the early life and leading traits of character of La Salle, and also to consider the conditions prevailing at that time in New France. From the relations of La Salle to the members of the Jesuit order in general, it is not difficult to understand his indirect charges and unfriendly attitude to Allouez in particular.

PART I. — LA SALLE.

La Salle sought and received admission into the ranks of the Jesuit order, in France, on October 5, 1658. The only complaint his superiors made of him is embodied in the words characterizing him as *Homo inquietus*, "a restless, unsettled man."¹ They say of him, uniformly, that he had a gifted mind and great energy, but little judgment and less prudence.² He was too restless to remain longer than a year at any place; always wished to be where he was not, and not to remain where, by the order of his superiors, he actually was. He so importuned his superiors to let him go to Portugal to prepare himself for the foreign missions, that his father general, Oliva, after prudently but kindly refusing the request several times, and finding him ever restless and dissatisfied, allowed him, in the year 1677, to sever his connection with the Jesuit order.³

He who, in the school of probation in France as a Jesuit scho-

¹Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 44, quotes Père François de la Faluere, rector of the Jesuit college at Tours, wherein La Salle was a teacher.

²Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, tome i, p. 455, gives a good description of La Salle's qualities; so does Sulte in his "Comte de Frontenac," p. 196, quoted in Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 50, *note*.

³See letter of Oliva, in Rochemonteix, tome iii, pp. 47, 48.

lastic, was a *homo inquietus in suo sensu abundans*, remained the same as a layman in the world. At once he looked about for a career that would satisfy his unbridled craving for travel, enterprise, and renown. The Abbé Jean Cavelier, his brother, and, later, his companion on many of his journeys, seems to have attracted him to Canada. At any rate, Robert Cavelier, later De la Salle, was in Canada in the very year when he left the Jesuit order. Those who, from the beginning, thought his judgment unreliable, soon had reason to be confirmed in their estimate of his person and character. Dollier de Casson, who was not a Jesuit, and other companions of La Salle on the Lake Erie exploring tour in 1669, had the same opinion regarding La Salle's dreams of enterprise as had the Jesuits; they deserted him as an unsafe adventurer.

After serving his apprenticeship in woodcraft, and gaining some knowledge of the country, and having returned from the Ohio River, in 1673, as he claimed, or from the "famous voyage to China," as Dollier de Casson called the affair, he was filled with new hopes of finding the Mississippi, and thus passage to Mexico, to De Soto's Eldorado, and thence a highway to China and Japan. The accomplishment of that "robust" dream would make him master over the Mississippi and its tributaries; it would give him the monopoly of trade, establish him as commander of forts and forces, make him the lord of a vast feudal seignory, and earn for him unstinted renown. But how could he achieve this end?

The Jesuits would not approve his plan. Although they put no obstacle in his way, they seemed to regard it as impracticable. At this time they were well established in the missions of the Far West, and they seemed determined to push their work on still farther, south and west. "Shall they reap the fruits of such magnificent opportunities alone? Shall they be permitted to establish a 'New Paraguay' in the west?" Such thoughts haunted the jealous mind of La Salle. He is not in touch with the Jesuits; and he must find an ally more powerful than they. This need was met by the enterprising but unscrupulous, the "ostentatious" and "chivalrous," Louis de Buade, the Count of Frontenac, governor of New France, since the year

1672. La Salle and Frontenac were well matched. The plan concerted between these two men was to "close to the Jesuits the route to Mexico," and dislodge them in the Mississippi Valley; and, directly and indirectly, to destroy their prestige with, and influence upon, the savage, as well as the European, elements in New France.

This was a policy which could only do harm to New France. It was not only wrong, but unwise, to try to displace the Jesuits where they were already established and making fair progress. The missionaries certainly had planned, prepared, and effectively co-operated in the discovery of the Mississippi, with the expectation of being one day employed in the work of evangelizing the tribes that dwelt on its waters. In a memoir of King Louis XIV. to Frontenac, 1673,¹ the new governor is advised to have full regard for the Jesuits. "It is they," said the king, "who have carried the light of the faith into New France, and who, by their virtue and piety, have contributed to the establishment and growth of this colony."² Indeed, the services of the Jesuits to that country were exceedingly great. The Western Algonquins and the Hurons were by them kept faithful to France; the peace with the Iroquois was long sustained only by the efforts of the Jesuits. But for their assistance in pacifying the ever-suspicious Iroquois,³ the southern road to the great lakes would have remained locked against the French traders and adventurers, long before and after Frontenac's expedition in 1673. Sound policy, then, would have dictated their continued employment as forerunners of commerce and colonization. But Frontenac, as well as his new ally, La Salle, needing money, joined in an attack upon the Jesuits.

At that time, it is necessary to know, ecclesiastical and civil parties in New France were unfortunately at variance, chiefly from two causes: (1) The first was the "brandy war," so called, which resulted from the fact that in the year 1661 Bishop Laval, of Quebec, had under severe censures forbidden the sale of

¹ Archives de la Marine, Paris.

² *Relations Inédites*, tome ii, p. 346, quotes the text of this memoir.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347, *et alibi*.

brandy to the savages. The Jesuits sided with the bishop, both because it was their duty to obey their lawful superiors in the matter, and because, in their daily intercourse with the Indians at their missions, they had only too often seen what havoc the nefarious traffic played upon the native tribes. The government, opposing this measure, at the same time granted a license to any one to sell spirituous liquors to the Indians, but, under severe penalties, forbade the latter to become guilty of drunkenness.¹ In years previous to this, however, the governmental and church authorities had fully agreed on the policy approved by the bishop and the Jesuits. (2) The second cause of disunion between the civil and church authorities was this: Frontenac believed that the Indian villages, kept apart from French settlements, would never result in civilizing the natives. He wished at once a complete fusion of the two races, by bringing them into close contact. The Jesuit missionaries insisted that such a plan would result in the corruption and irrecoverable loss of the Indians; the Indians would not become French, but the French would become Indians.² The Jesuit plan was to keep the Indians in separate villages, until, by gradual advancement in the civilized modes of life, they were fitted to enter independently into the race of life.

The principal direct object of Frontenac's ruling seems to have been the granting of new trading licenses to friends of his, at various posts where hitherto the missionaries had dwelt alone in peace with the Indians, such as the Sault Ste. Marie, Michillimackinac, Green Bay, and elsewhere. The plan of Gallicizing the Indians was ostensibly a very patriotic measure; but it was copied from the colonies of the English and Dutch of New England, where, it is a known fact, no half-breed village ever resulted from the promiscuous relation of whites and Indians.

Such was the condition of things in Canada about the time when Allouez was active in the Far West, preaching the gospel to our Winnebagoes, Outagamies, Mascoutens, Miamies, Menomonees, and Illinois. Since 1665 he had labored in our State,

¹ *Relations Inédites*, tome ii, p. 351.

² See Shea's *Mississippi Valley*, p. 80.

establishing in all five missions, until in 1676 he left Wisconsin, to work no less zealously among the Illinois. Allouez was the missionary at the most advanced post in the West. Both Jesuit *esprit de corps* and his own fatherly affection for his neophytes would prevent him from being a loving friend of La Salle. So much for the general reasons of Allouez's probable dislike for his forthcoming rival as an explorer and a reformer of the Western French colonies.

PART II.—ALLOUEZ'S AVERSION TO LA SALLE.

In due course of time, Allouez must have concluded that La Salle, like his patron, suffered from "Jesuit-phobia" — a mental disease not uncommon in those days, when, in France, Jansenism was in the ascendancy; he must also have learned by close observation of events that La Salle, when left to himself, was an incompetent explorer, and a menace to the missions as well as to the interests of Old and New France.

That La Salle hated the Jesuits seems clear from numerous facts. He readily connived at Frontenac's studied and artful efforts to minimize the merits of the Jesuits of New France. The letters of La Salle to Frontenac, as late as 1680, and of Frontenac to influential men in France, go so far as to assert that Joliet was an impostor,¹ and that the Jesuits really had made no discoveries of importance, and no progress in converting the natives. By so doing, they both cleared the way for their own interests at the French court. Again, if the *Mémoire sur M. de La Salle* and the *Histoire de La Salle*² were inspired by La Salle,—purporting, as these do, to come from

¹ Memoir addressed by La Salle to Frontenac in November, 1680. Here the writer intimates that Joliet went but little beyond the mouth of the Illinois. Parkman quotes the note, *La Salle*, p. 103. See also, Margry, tome i, p. 337, *note*; and Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 69.

² Quoted and, strange to say, half approved by Parkman in *La Salle*, pp. 95-107; of which he nevertheless says, "it embodies the statements of a man of intense partisan feeling" and "often rests on its own unsupported authority." This document seems to come from the noted Jansenist Arnaud. Cf. Margry, tome i, p. 345; and Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 57, *note*.

information given by himself to his anonymous friend in France — then, indeed, he acted the part of a venomous reviler.

What shall we say of the story recorded in the same memoir of La Salle's anonymous friend, in which we are informed of an attempt made by a Nicholas Perrot to poison La Salle? The name of the alleged culprit seems purposely invented to throw discredit on the famous voyager and faithful friend of the Jesuits. The commander of Fort Frontenac¹ recovered from the hemlock and verdigris administered to him in a salad, and pardoned the would-be assassin, who confessed his crime, saying that the Jesuits had instigated him to the murderous act. "To avoid giving the matter notoriety, and lest he should do the Jesuits the slightest injury"² — La Salle says in a letter to the Prince de Conti (cited in Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 105), that he pardons the said Nicholas Perrot, and retains him in his service indefinitely. If the latter was the famous voyager of that name, — as Parkman, we think incorrectly, assumes, — then how in the name of justice and prudence could Frontenac, later on, give the alleged scoundrel an important trading-license?³ And shall we suppose the Jesuits so idiotic as to make a friend of Perrot in later years — the man who, under the supposition of Parkman, had once made traitors and assassins of them? In the same letter, speaking of the Jesuits as his enemies, "against whom he needed," as he said, "a strong protection," he refers to his enterprise that involved the conquest of the Mississippi Valley from the Jesuits, and the laying open to himself of the riches of Mexico, and then utters words of no uncertain sound: "My enterprise traverses the commercial operations of certain persons [Jesuits] who will find it hard to endure it. * * *

The route which I close against them, gave them facilities for

¹ La Salle built this fort, in 1673, at the site of the present Kingston, on Lake Ontario. See Parkman and Rochemonteix on the subject.

² The inspired memoir gave to the matter a notoriety where it did most harm.

³ There were, beyond all doubt, a number of Perrots in New France, which then was reported as having from 900 to 1,200 inhabitants: and Nicholas was a common baptismal name, and is so yet among the Canadians.

an advantageous correspondence with Mexico."¹ To my knowledge, no evidence exists to the effect that the Jesuits ever wished to "close against La Salle the route" which by royal commission he was entitled to open, provided he had obtained such rights in a lawful way, and did not interfere with their own equally patented rights as missionaries and explorers. Who, then, is the aggressor? Evidently La Salle. The letter quoted is dated October 31, 1678.

In the year following (1679), he begins to open the route so often referred to, by launching the *Griffin*, the first ship that set sail on our Great Lakes; and sending her to the Jesuit missions at Sault Ste. Marie and Michillimackinac, thence to the entrance of Green Bay, near Washington Island. By the royal grant of 1678,² La Salle was expressly forbidden to traffic with the Ottawas. Nevertheless, supported as he knew he was by the unscrupulous governor, his patron, he freely traded with them wherever he could, and instead of following his original plan of descending towards Chicago river, at the foot of Lake Michigan, he loaded his ship with peltries and sent it back to Canada. So doing, he could not fail to vex the traders already established at Michillimackinac and other Ottawa posts. Besides, he and some of his companions here acted out Frontenac's liquor-and-colonization policy. The Jesuits, who had accorded him and his party an unfeigned welcome, could not look with complacency upon such nefarious traffic, and public transgression of established law and order. Could Allouez, who surely had heard of La Salle's adventures and chicanery, rejoice at his prospective invasion of the Illinois country?

Misfortunes attend his path; his companions desert him at every opportunity, and the *Griffin* does not return to port — she probably goes down, with all her crew, in some fierce storm. His troubles enhance his morbid suspicions of Jesuit intrigue, and Allouez is doomed to be the special victim. The latter had probably met him in Montreal in 1669, and must at some time have become acquainted with him, his character, and his incipient enterprises. Allouez must also have met him at the great

¹Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 105.

²This is dated May 12, 1678. See text in Parkman, p. 113.

ceremony of taking possession of the Ottawa country, on June 14, 1671.¹ Through letters from Pere Julien Garnier, of the Seneca mission among the Iroquois, he was, no doubt,—as Shea indicates in a note in his *Mississippi Valley*, p. 69,—informed of La Salle's suspicious character. When, therefore, in 1679 La Salle came to the Illinois mission, where Allouez had worked from 1677, the latter had reason to leave. What Jesuit would have confidence in the habitual reviler of their persons, work, and order? Who that was a loyal Frenchman could sanction the persistent and officially-countenanced violation of royal ordinances? What missionary could be indifferent to the dangers resulting from the indiscriminate sale of spirituous liquors, and in the promiscuous mingling of corrupt Frenchmen and newly-converted Indians?

If at any time Allouez opened his heart to any one regarding the dislike he felt, and even grant that some Indian convert—be he called "Monso" or by any other name; be he Illinois, Miami, or Iroquois,²—had therefore intrigued against La Salle,—which I do not admit until better evidence is adduced for such a supposition than is offered by Margry, Gravier, and Parkman; what does it prove, but that the Indians possibly were themselves aware of wrong-doing in the following of La Salle; or that, suspicious and treacherous as they were, they now practiced on La Salle and his newly-arrived colony what they—both Illinois and Iroquois—had frequently been guilty of in their treatment of the Jesuit missionaries? Allouez himself shortly before, in 1677-78, had suffered such treatment at the hands of the Illinois.³

La Salle's visionary blunders were redeemed only by his success in the exploration of the lower Mississippi in 1682, and

¹ Such, at least, is our inference from remarks found in Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens Français*, tome v, pp. 18, 19, quoted in Rochmonteix, tome iii, pp. 58, 59.

² Vague rumors are hinted, such as that Allouez had carefully spread the report that La Salle was the enemy of the Illinois and that the latter was now coming into their country in order to "les donner a manger aux Iroquois," etc. (to give them up to the Iroquois as food to eat).—Quoted in Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 222.

³ Rochemonteix, tome iii, p. 534.

possibly by that of the Ohio, in 1670 or later. Soberly considered, this was no gigantic feat after the Jesuits had paved the way; and since Frontenac, jointly with Louis XIV., supported La Salle with men and means. All his other enterprises proved a failure, despite the enormous energy expended in their attempted achievement. The "journey to China" in 1669; the fiasco at Michillimackinac, ten years later (1679); the destruction by the Iroquois of his forts at Crevecoeur and St. Louis (built respectively in 1680 and 1681); his repeated useless crossing and recrossing of the entire territory in search of his men, scattered all over by continued blundering of their captain, were sufficient to awaken distrust in any man regarding the mental soundness of the leader. But the climax came in 1685. Returning from France in that year, accompanied by a little fleet under Captain Beaujeu, La Salle absolutely failed to find, a second time, the mouths of the Mississippi which he had discovered in 1682. The colony which he wished to establish at that place, in order to realize his life's ambition,—the conquest of Mexico,—was utterly ruined on the swampy shores of the Gulf of Mexico; and the infatuated explorer in two full years could not find the Mississippi. Why? Because, in 1682, he had taken the latitude but could not take the longitude of the place where that river emptied into the Gulf.¹ More than that, during two years, from 1685 to 1687, he did not, probably could not, extricate himself from the perplexed position in which a great mistake and his ridiculous pride had placed him. For good reasons, Beaujeu, the captain of the "Joly,"—the principal vessel of the expedition, which brought the colony to the Gulf in 1685,—had left him.

A Jesuit, the venerable Father Allouez, hundreds of miles from the scene of misery and disaster, at the Illinois mission breathes God's free air in peace with his Indians and with Tonty, his friend and master at the fort. The aged and revered missionary must furnish a clew to the latest and "most artful conspiracy" that Jesuits have formed to bring on La Salle's final disaster and his death. It seems to me no exaggeration to say that such is

¹ Refer to Parkman's statement, *La Salle*, p. 351.

the object and import of allusions made incidental to the surprise manifested by Allouez, according to Joutel, when he was told by the survivors of La Salle's party, returning to Fort St. Louis in 1687, that the latter was in good health and coming up to the fort.¹ But "the trouble which the missionary could not conceal" does not prove a conspiracy. If he knew of La Salle's last failure, he had good reason to avoid him who, to his own knowledge, was a blunderer, and an abuser of royal trust. La Salle had, as Parkman seems to credit him, deceived the king as to his designs. He had allured poor soldiers, and men, women and children into a trap. And, worse than all, La Salle had intended to draw 15,000 Illinois braves from Allouez's mission to help him conquer Mexico. Were not such considerations enough to create anxiety and trouble in the heart of the aged missionary?

If Allouez really had connived at conspiracies with the Illinois against La Salle, Tonty, the noble lieutenant of the fort, the real "secular hero of the West," would not have suffered the intriguer, nor would he have remained a warm friend and admirer of Allouez. Moreover, can Joutel be trusted? A man who could deceive a Tonty, and all the unfortunate denizens of that village and military post, and then, cool-headed, carry the lie with him all the way back to France up to October, 1688, can hardly be trusted in print, even though he confess his lie.

One more question remains to be answered: How did the Jesuits know of La Salle's failure?² This is Parkman's apparent last trump in the game he enacts between Allouez and La Salle. No certainty exists that Allouez or any of the Jesuits knew of that failure before the death of La Salle (March 19, 1687), or before the arrival of the survivors of the doomed party at Fort St. Louis, in the summer of 1687. Still, it is probable that they had some information before the dates mentioned.

To prove that they did know of it some time before 1687, it is surmised that Allouez got secret information from France — from Jesuits of course, through Beaujeu, who returned in 1685.

¹ Parkman, *La Salle*, pp. 431-433. Joutel, *Journ. Histor.*, as quoted previously.

² Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 433.

Some time after the return of the latter, a memoir was addressed to M. de Seignelay, minister of the Colonies, affirming that "La Salle had made a blunder, and landed his colony not at the mouth of the Mississippi, but at another place;" and the document further asks permission for the Jesuits to continue the work in which La Salle had failed. The value of the alleged document is not as yet ascertained. But if it is genuine, and was presented before the return to France of Joutel and the brother of La Salle (Père Cavalier), then indeed "Cicero has discovered the Catilines," who have conspired against the noble Norman, the ambitious but honorable and now fallen La Salle! There they stand with blood-stained swords — Beaujeu, his wife, and the Jesuits! — If Beaujeu returned in 1685, and if he knew of La Salle's failure, was he obliged to keep it a secret? Common interests would dictate that he seek relief for the deserted colony. In that case, the Jesuits, who were greatly interested in their missions in the Mississippi Valley, received the news through the natural channel. Thus the memoir referred to was a justifiable — nay, a charitable — step toward a rectification of La Salle's blunders.

But it is by no means certain that Beaujeu knew of La Salle's failure — departing, as he did, from an unknown spot which, after all, might be the mouth of the Mississippi. In that case, through whom may Father Allouez have heard of La Salle's failure on the Gulf of Mexico in the summer of 1687? I maintain with Father Jucker,¹ that Tonty himself was the one who unveiled the mystery. Having heard at Michillimackinac of the return of Beaujeu and his ship to France, and of the abandoned state of the new colony on the shores of the Gulf, he (in February, 1686) set out to find La Salle and his associates at the mouth of the Mississippi.² Reaching the mouth of that river he traveled many leagues east and west, and found no trace of La Salle. This it was that established the fact of the explorer's blunder. In such case, it is beyond question that Tonty's report reached the ears of those in France who were interested in La Salle's enterprise — two years and some

¹ "La Salle and the Jesuits," *Cath. Quart. Rev.*, vol. iii, p. 425.

² Parkman, *La Salle*, p. 428, note.

months before Joutel and Cavelier, in October, 1688, brought the same news to France. In such case, furthermore, is it very strange to hear that Father Allouez "is surprised" at the news which the illfated survivors of La Salle's party brought to Fort St. Louis, where the aged missionary lay sick at the time? He probably knew of La Salle's failure by letters from France, and it is more than likely Tonty had informed him of the same fact long before.

Now all considered,—the circumstance that led to La Salle's enterprises; his early relations to the Jesuits in general, and his alliance with Frontenac and his party; La Salle's character and reverses, his incapacity, and consequent suspicions,—there is more than sufficient reason to explain Allouez's dislike to the man. On the other hand, there is no evidence to substantiate the various artful, vicious hints made at intrigue and conspiracy on the part of Allouez against La Salle. Not any of the charges, if made before a tribunal of unbiased judges, would convict Allouez. He was a man of peace; and, rather than have altercations with La Salle and his "rival missionaries," he acted the part of Abraham with his cousin Lot. (Genesis, xiv, 8, 9.)

CONCLUSION.

I have not attempted to make a hero or saint of the missionary and apostle of our State; what I have endeavored to do, in this paper, is to expose the ignoble aspersions made on the character of that worthy, and in many respects saintly and heroic, man, who manifested the "life that was within him" by an unpretentious, but in every way fruitful, career, of useful sacrifice. The "hero of portentous, colossal proportions," the La Salle of Parkman and Margry, taken out of the mist of pretended, unreal persecution by the Jesuits, and viewed in the sunlight of truth, sinks down to a common-sized statue, with many unseemly blemishes on his shrunken figure. "The idol shows its feet of clay."

It is extremely unfortunate that such deep-going and far-reaching differences ever arose between ruling elements in New France. The main blame falls upon Frontenac and his party,

who duped Louis XIV. and his court into a policy that established an empire in an empire. The jealousies and discords in New France soon invited the interference of England and the Dutch. The result is summed up in a few words of Scripture (Luke, xi, 17): "Every kingdom that is divided against itself shall be destroyed."

SOME DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HISTORY OF OUR LEAD REGION.¹

BY JOHN N. DAVIDSON.

Upon the greater part of the area of Wisconsin the glacial epochs made records that are not to be found upon the hills and valleys of our lead region. Let any one go, in the southern portion of our State, from Lake Michigan westward to the Mississippi, he will find, after he has traversed the region tributary to the Rock River, that he has left behind him the land of lakes, of marshes, of cup-like hollows, of rounded hills, and of boulders. He has come into a land where nature, for an untold number of centuries, has been perfecting her system of drainage. The streams flow in valleys deeply cut between bluffs of sharp outline. There are no marshes here, nor lakes; and no boulders bear silent testimony to the former existence and, later, passing away of the icy mechanism that broke them from their native rocks, and gave to each new form and place.

As distinctive almost as its geological aspect is the history, as the term is commonly used, of the Wisconsin lead region. It is not simply that French traders found here material for making bullets, nor that a few Indians, in scratching the surface of the earth for lead ore, did here what none in other parts of what is now Wisconsin had opportunity of doing. The French did not make Wisconsin, the marble figure that our State has put into the national hall of statuary to the contrary notwithstanding—that noble figure, which, wherever it should stand, ought to be called by the honored name of René Menard, even though it must needs suggest the years of his strength rather than those of his enfeebled age. If what the first white

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899.

men, save the shrewd and independent Radisson and his brother-in-law Groseilliers, wrought for and fought for had come to pass, Wisconsin, or any political entity like it, would not have been. No more—and really no less—than the subjects of the Bourbons, did the Indians found Wisconsin, or begin the distinctive history of its lead region.

Without pride of race or of nationality, but with simple regard for historic verity, we may say that, aside from a few French who came from the southward, those who began the settlement of then unnamed Wisconsin were unmistakably Americans. By this I do not mean to say that they were New Englanders. They would probably have been inclined to resent rather than favor the supposition that any of their ancestors came over in the "Mayflower." Few of them came from the region east of the Hudson; and, for that matter, not many from New York, the State that, more than any other, has furnished models for our political institutions, and from which emigrated so large a proportion of the settlers who made the first homes in our southeastern counties. Most of those who really began the permanent settlement of our lead region, and so of our State, were from Missouri or Kentucky. Next in order, as sources of this immigration, let us rank the States whose southern borders are washed by the Ohio. If we look farther to the east for a parental or, perhaps, yet more remote home, we shall very probably find it somewhere west of the settlements on the Atlantic coast, and between the line that separates Pennsylvania from New York, and north of the southern limits of Virginia. That is another way of saying that for the still more distant ancestral home of many—let me not be misunderstood as daring to say most—of these emigrants, we must look to the north of Ireland, where yet abide those kinsmen of theirs who defeated the plans of a Gladstone and thwarted the wish of a people.

Perhaps in some historian's manuscript there has been written a classification of American States such as I have not yet seen in print. He may have classified them according to what we may call the characteristic manner in which their early settlers came to them. Of some, as of most of the Atlantic states, he would say, "These are States of the ship; for thus came the

men who founded them." Of others, as of Connecticut,—considered apart from the New Haven settlement,—New Hampshire, Vermont, the commonwealth of Kentucky, and the older States of what men once called the West, he may say, "These are States of the wagon; for thus their pioneers traversed the distance between the new home and the old." Another class he will call "The States of the steamboat," and among these he will place Wisconsin. And though, for our purpose, we need not pursue this classification any further, we may add that he would probably speak also of "The States of the railway," and adduce Nebraska and the Dakotas as being, of this class, the most unmistakable examples.

According to this classification, Wisconsin is a State of the steamboat. Our lead region was one of the first portions of the United States to be settled by men who could and did avail themselves of this means of transportation. It is significant that the first steamboat to land (in 1821) at Galena and at Prairie du Chien was called the "Virginia." The name suggests what influences prevailed on the rivers then called Western. About that time,—that is, in the early '20s,—lake steamers were bringing Stockbridges, Brothertowns, and Oneidas to our Green Bay region,—to a country so far off, according to America's then most eminent geographer, Dr. Jedediah Morse, that the white man would never want it; to a country which, it is more than suspected, Calhoun wished to make into an Indian territory of the north. The region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi was good enough for that!

Such a land did those men expect to find, who came thither by way of the river whose tributaries from (the geological) Isle Wisconsin are among the most ancient streams upon the earth; the river that we call the Mississippi, or, if we separate the two words that have become welded together and translate them, the Everywhere, rather than merely the Great River. Its bluffs, and those of its tributaries, were rich in lead ore, and it was for this that these adventurers came. They did not come to get land or to make homes. They were actual or prospective diggers rather than professional miners. Though most of the early settlements became permanent ones,—and thus the men who founded them

builded better than they knew,—we should not forget, as students of our State's history, that the first comers did not intend to stay. It is to places supposed to be of temporary rather than of permanent abode, that men give such names as Hard-scrabble (Hazel Green), Shakerag (Mineral Point), Snake Hollow (Potosi), and Black Leg. A trifle better than these, are the names Beetown, Big Patch, New Diggings, Buncombe, Whig, and Democrat. Smallpox is (or was) on the other side of the Illinois line, and in Jo Daviess county. Here we come upon one of the many evidences of Kentucky influence in the early history of the lead region. For Joseph Hamilton Daviess, a brother-in-law of Chief Justice Marshall, was a Kentucky lawyer and soldier, who was killed at the battle of Tippecanoe while leading a cavalry charge against the Indians. We may leave this part of our subject with the remark that though some of the odd names given to early settlements, like that of Fairplay,—though even that is connected with traditions of a fight,—are not unpleasant, yet if one seek the most disagreeable village names ever used in Wisconsin, he will find them in the lead region.

There was another reason for this want of the feeling of permanence in settlement. At first the land was not for sale, and all that the government would issue to anyone was a mining lease or permit. Even after the country was surveyed, and some of its lands put upon the market, those supposed to be ore-bearing were nominally reserved. Not until August, 1842, was there passed "an act for the relief of certain settlers in Wisconsin"—those who had been refused pre-emption privileges because they had settled on what were regarded as mineral lands. For these, twice the regulation government price was asked; that is to say, they were sold at \$2.50 per acre. To say that those who were compelled to pay this price made complaint that injustice was done them, is not saying that their complaints were just. Yet under this requirement the higher price must often have been paid for poorer land.

The story of the relation of the United States government to the mines and mining population, is much too long to be told here. It presents many points of interest. We have here the

first attempt on the part of the national government to deal with what was supposed to be, and what then actually was, a distinctively mining region. The lead, apart from the land, was to be a source of revenue to the United States treasury. This object was attained, or sought to be attained, by requiring all miners to sell to licensed smelters only, and these were forbidden "to purchase or otherwise acquire" any "ore, ashes or zane" — what zane is I leave for some one to tell who is better informed than I am — "from any other person than an authorized miner or lessee." Never yet in the world's history, probably, was a special revenue secured from one section of the country, and from that section only, without arousing there the feeling that is created by real or supposed injustice. Here, however, there seems to have been comparatively little complaint; perhaps because the revenue-producing regulations were disregarded so soon, so often, and with such immunity from punishment. At first, however, diggers and smelters alike were confronted by the authority of army officers whose commands, it is probable, were generally obeyed as long as the miners were so few in number that an offender could easily be detected. At that time it seems to have been the practically accepted understanding, as well as the legal theory, that, aside from the rights of the Indians, the government held absolute ownership of land and lead. Moreover, according to the treaty of 1816, which was supplementary to that made at St. Louis in 1804 by General Harrison, the government possessed, free from all Indian claims whatsoever, as much land as would equal in area a tract five leagues square. As opposed to the view thus implied, the Winnebagoes may have thought that the land they ceded was not to consist of portions separate from each other; indeed some of the military authorities recognized the fact that there must be limits, even within the lead region, of the rights conferred by this "five league square" cession. Thus it is probable that until after the so-called Winnebago war, possibly until after the making of the Prairie du Chien treaty of 1829, special permission, as well as a lease of the usual kind, would have been — perhaps I should say actually was — required of any one who wished to mine within the limits of what is now Wisconsin.

But before 1829, the mining districts of the white men had such boundaries only as were set by their convenience, or their fears of the Indian scalping-knife.

Apparently, when the United States authorities were willing to grant leases for work within limits now belonging to Wisconsin, the miners did not take the trouble to ask for them. For this neglect, as for previous trespasses on Indian land, it does not appear that any one got into serious trouble. The government had no adequate remedy against those who were engaged merely in mining. There is reason to believe that at least a few of these, when working on land belonging to the Indians, paid them more or less in the way of rental. Whether or not this was collected indirectly, and through the smelters, as was the case with the rental demanded by the government, I cannot say. But when the authorities sought to collect rental from such smelters as were really trespassers on Indian land, reply was made that payment had already been made to the Indians. Whether or not this was true, out of some of the mineral there may have been paid a double tribute. At any rate, some years later, Congress attempted to make amends for a real or supposed injustice; but this was done, during the suspension of the agency, under pressure from certain smelters, and the payment was made to them. This, it is almost certain, was a swindle, for there is little doubt that the smelters had protected their own interests by throwing the tribute, whether single or double, upon the miners.

It is probable that the experience of the government in the management or mismanagement of the lead mines was so unsatisfactory, that neither Congress nor any administration thought it best to adopt like plans in regard to any other mining district. Accordingly, so far as I know, the only attempt on the part of the United States government to increase its revenue directly from mines, — that financial device so often resorted to in past times and by other nations, — was made in the lead region of the upper Mississippi. Here, even from the narrow point of view given by the balance-sheet of the national treasury, the attempt was a failure. The government was wronged even by its own employes, that is, by the civilians; the army

men made a much better record. The land office at Mineral Point seems to have begun operations by an illegal or at least unauthorized sale of mineral lands. Apparently, no pains or penalties, save those of the everlasting justice, followed perjury when committed for the sake of getting government land, provided that the government was the only party injured. Indeed, the time came when the oath that was required of any who wished to pre-empt land was, merely, "that no mineral was being dug on the lands that they desired to enter." So, even a Puritan deacon or a Presbyterian elder could, without any severe strain on his conscience, get possession, at pre-emption prices, of lands that were really ore-bearing. The government, regarded at first as an absolute owner, came practically to be regarded as a trustee. The student of our national history will observe that this change of sentiment occurred during the time of transition from the old-fashioned Republicanism of Monroe and John Quincy Adams to the aggressive type of Democracy that produced and upheld the autocracy of Andrew Jackson. The change that occurred here was an inevitable one, for it was in accord with the training and interest of the great majority of the mining population. Moreover, the authority of the government was exercised more and more feebly, and in time by unworthy men.

The early history of this region pays little attention to the line of $42^{\circ} 30'$ — that is, to the boundary line between Illinois and Wisconsin. The government, whether as owner or trustee, practically regarded the part of the lead region on the east side of the Mississippi as undivided; save that in earlier years it recognized the rights of the Indians to the greater part of it. As did the government, so did commerce. Neither could do otherwise, for, as to industrial and social conditions, the entire region was a unit, having Galena as its emporium. Indeed, for a time, the people of that settlement did not know whether they dwelt in Illinois or in unnamed Wisconsin. When there was no longer any doubt on that point, then the people who lived north of the then undetermined line had the same perplexity. The first election at Platteville was held in the autumn of 1828,

and state officers of Illinois were voted for. The blunder was not repeated. The prevailing sentiment in Galena and the settlements round about seems to have been, that so much of Illinois as lies north of a line drawn from the head of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi ought to belong to the fifth state that, according to the Ordinance of 1787, was to be formed from the original Northwest Territory. The *Miners' Journal*, then the leading paper in the lead region and published, of course, in Galena, expressed the belief in its issue of October 25, 1828, that "the ultimate decision of the United States court will be that the northern boundary of the state of Illinois shall commence at the southernmost end of Lake Michigan." The same issue of the *Journal* published a petition stating that the "division of the miners by an ideal line, separating into different governments individuals intimately connected in similar pursuits, is embarrassing," and, addressing Congress, apparently as if they belonged to the proposed new Territory, the petitioners asked for "even-handed justice" and a restoration of "chartered limits."

Thus, in the lead region at an early day, there was made a real effort to have the southern line of the new Territory so placed as to include all of the mining district east of the Mississippi. But for an act of Congress that they thought unjust the inhabitants of the Illinois part of the lead region would have been citizens of Wisconsin. Moreover, if those who did enjoy this privilege could have had their way, theirs would have been the central portion, eastward and westward, of the proposed new State, which, according to their plan, would have extended to the Missouri. The story of the foolish investments made at Cassville, under the influence of the notion that it might become the capital of the new State, and that of the disappointed hopes of Belmont and Mineral Point, need not be repeated. The miner was no longer supreme. Indeed, in many cases, he had become an agriculturist. He had learned that where the wild grape ripens and blue grass grows, no one need fear to make a farm. The change meant that the lead region had a permanent population. The days of the "sucker," that

is of the digger who — usually from Illinois — came and went with the warm season, were past. In vain did the smelters — who wanted the wood for their furnaces, and in trying to keep it from others were at first favored by the government itself — strive to keep the farmer out of the country. He was there already. To be sure he wore the bed-ticking trousers of the digger, but these could easily be laid aside. And this some men were ready to do, when they learned that the top of the ground yielded surer and, averaging the years together, larger returns than the crevices of the rocks.

But the miner-agriculturist who had learned that Wisconsin is not too far north for the growing of wheat and maize, could not keep this knowledge to himself; and when southeastern Iowa and southeastern Wisconsin were settled, the man of the mines learned that, so far from his being able to unite them into one, he was separate from both, and they from each other; and that, so far as political allotment was concerned, they had him in their power. The day-dream of a state that was to include both banks of the Mississippi, proved to be as unsubstantial as the baseless fabric of a vision.

The years that brought statehood to Wisconsin, brought many changes to her mining population. Part of its trade found other routes. Where once there had been trails leading to the east, roads had been made, and over these passed many loads of lead. Yet the greater part of all that the region sent out and sent for, went and came by way of Galena. It was not in the direction of currents of trade that there was the greatest change. The original body of pioneer Americans became almost lost in the varied throng that came from almost every State in the Union, and from beyond the eastward sea.

Of these, none produced a greater effect upon mining, considered as an occupation, than did the Cornish. As they came to this country they were unlettered, shrewd, industrious, and skillful. They would go to mines that had been abandoned, and would make them pay. Indeed, the Cornish were not much given to what miners call "prospecting," that is, searching for unknown deposits of ore — an enticing employment for some,

and one that often produces upon those who follow it an effect like that of gambling. But when a Cornish miner was once done with a place, it was of little use for any one else to go there. These people brought upon their tongues remnants of the old Keltic speech of Cornwall — expressions that were used sometimes to the amazement and oftener to the amusement of people of other nationalities. Even a Methodist preacher has been known to burst out in uncontrollable laughter, at the droll utterances of a Cornishman in class meeting. The Cornish made a distinct contribution to our ecclesiastical institutions. To be sure nearly all were Methodists; but many of them had a preference for the non-episcopal organization, established by some of Wesley's followers, after the death of that admirable though somewhat autocratic manager, and called Primitive. Outside of the lead region, this body can scarcely be said to have had an existence in Wisconsin.

As the lead region had attracted men to itself and to the occupation of mining, it was natural enough that when its treasures seemed to be failing, and those in a more alluring field were disclosed, men should leave it as they had come to it — in throngs. This occurred on the discovery of gold in California. No part of our State has ever lost so large a proportion of its people, as did the lead region at that time. But the incoming and persistent German made good the loss in population occasioned by the removal of the free-footed miner. This change established more firmly the supremacy of the farming population, and the enclosed field and pasture covered nearly all the land.

Then passed away, in great part, a danger of the darkness and the night — a danger that once was very great. When a prospector had dug a hole, and had either found no lead ore in it, or had taken out all that he found, he often left the place without taking the trouble to fill the hole. The late President Magoon of Iowa college, who in 1847-48 was pastor of the Congregational church in Shullsburg, once wrote me of his crawling along in the darkness to recover some article of his wife's apparel that a gust of wind had whisked away. He

did not dare to walk upright lest he fall into one of the many holes with which the land beside the road was honeycombed.

A young man, who was a stranger to the lead region and its peculiarities, was making a journey, one snowy winter afternoon, with an old-timer who was the fortunate owner of a horse. As long as daylight lasted the old fellow rode and let his companion walk. But when the early darkness fell, he spoke to the younger man somewhat after this fashion: "You must be tired. It's only fair that you should ride now." With sincerity the young man hesitated, even though he was very tired, to accept the generous offer. But kindness is always persuasive and so is weariness. Accordingly the young man mounted and rode, while his considerate acquaintance followed on foot. Thus, with whatever trail there was obliterated by the fallen and still falling snow, and with the mineral holes hidden by drifts and darkness, the young man, in dangerous precedence, though he did not know his danger,—they were in one of the worst parts of the country so far as mineral holes were concerned,—led the way to their destination. There he received information that diminished, to a certain extent, his sense of gratitude.

A boyhood memory of my own is that of hearing my teacher, whose home was in Galena, tell of the death, by plunging head foremost into a mineral hole, of a brother of the young man whose wife she afterward became. The poor boy had seen a bit of ore sticking to the side of the shaft and so near the top that he thought he could secure it without danger. Let us be glad, however, to say and to hear, that very few human beings lost their lives by falling into mineral holes. It is possible, of course, though scarcely probable, that some may thus have perished whose fate was never known. There are stories of marvelous rescue; as of one old man in Dubuque, who was not found until the third day of his fearful imprisonment. Fortunately he was but little injured. Animals often fell into these holes, and were recovered alive oftener than a stranger would suppose possible.

The fate of the unfortunate boy whom I mentioned, suggests the remark that "picking up" mineral at abandoned mines

used to give many children opportunity for securing more or less spending money. Lead was always a "cash article," as my grandfather wrote to a brother in Scotland, in a letter never sent. Gold and silver circulated in the lead region when there was comparatively little in use in other parts of the country. The miners wished no other currency. In this respect, whatever their politics, they were all followers of Senator Benton.

Thus far I have written — so hard it is for us to do otherwise — as if all who came to the lead region came as free people. But Negro slaves, brought by James Johnson from Kentucky, saw the site of Galena and worked the lead mines there before the place bore its present name, or had been shaped even into a village. Southwestern Wisconsin is not the only part of our State to which slaves were brought and, for a time, kept in servitude. There were two cases of the kind at Green Bay; one, if not more, at Fort Winnebago, and as many as seventeen at one time, at Fort Crawford. There, in 1845, a slave woman was whipped to death and her body flung into one of the sloughs of the Mississippi. But, exception being made of the military posts, the lead region is the only part of Wisconsin where Negroes were held for a time in bondage, and whence they were taken again to slave soil. One yet among the living, — the wife of Deacon Thomas Davies, of British Hollow, — heard in the darkness of night the cry of a mother and her sons as they were hurried from Potosi to the Mississippi on their way to the hell of perpetual slavery. What wonder that in her reminiscence of this affair, Mrs. Davies wrote: "That midnight cry is not yet forgotten; it helped make my father, mother, and myself abolitionists. The next morning we heard that poor 'Merica and her children had been taken South." To the honor of Potosi in that early day, it is to be said that two of the children had attended school with the girl who, as a woman, tells this tragedy of their early years. Of the sixty or seventy Negroes who, at one time or another, were held as slaves in Wisconsin, nearly all suffered their unhappy lot in the lead region.

But while we must acknowledge the sad fact that slavery,

though illegal, actually existed here, we have also the pleasanter story of emancipation. Men brought slaves hither for the purpose of setting them free. Moreover, this was but a part of the anti-slavery influence that came to us from the South. For there were sons of the South who abhorred the holding of men as slaves, and who came hither in part because it was a land consecrated to perpetual freedom. Let us close our story with this recognition of their service and their worth.



Fort Atkinson, In 1836.

From sketch carefully based on local traditions.

THE OLD FORT AT FORT ATKINSON.¹

BY D. D. MAYNE.

The history that is being made from day to day does not seem to us of great importance. The greater personal interest we may have in passing events, the less likely are we to make a careful record that may be of value to future historians. An old settler naively remarked, "If I had known sixty years ago that any one would be asking about the old fort, I would have given more attention to it." When history must depend upon fickle memory and careless observation, it behooves us to "prove all things," and hold fast to but little.

Records with reference to the old fort are entirely wanting, and the remembrances of the early settlers are so conflicting as to make the whole account legendary rather than historical. The history of the operations of the army sent against Black Hawk does not aid materially in clearing up the difficulty; on the contrary, it makes "confusion worse confounded." Many of the operations of the army, as described, are manifestly errors, for they do not correspond with the geography of the country; and no two accounts agree. In July, 1832, General Henry Atkinson, with his division of the regular army, together with some independent companies of volunteer from Illinois, came up the east side of Rock River, hoping to overtake Black Hawk and his warriors in the marshes about Lake Koshkonong. He came, however, a few hours too late. Black Hawk had escaped. From Lake Koshkonong the army went to Burnt Village, on Bark River, at the point where Whitewater Creek empties into it, near what is now known as Cold Spring. Here Atkinson was assured by some Winnebagoes that on the other side of the Bark River, Black Hawk was secreted on an island. Crossing to the other side, some of

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899.

the scouts saw what they supposed to be the trail, and the task of transporting the army across the small stream was begun. On account of the marshiness of the ground, this was a difficult task. In many places they found, after crossing, that what seemed to be solid ground was no more than a vast area of liquid mud, covered with a few inches of sod. Horses would sink in this, and all efforts to extricate them seemed unavailing. The building of a bridge was an impossibility because no foundation could be obtained. At last they made a bridge of marsh grass, which they cut and piled in the river. Reports of all kinds were being circulated as to the presence of Black Hawk, and some Indians were actually seen just across the river.

While floundering about in the morasses of this so-called island, across the Bark River, Capt. Jacob M. Early's independent company of Illinois rangers, in which Abraham Lincoln was a private, becoming discouraged and disgusted with the attempt to find the Indians, left for home—some on furlough, but many without that formality. The muster rolls showed the absentees amounted to nearly one-half. The word "deserted" seldom occurs, however; in lieu thereof, the words "Supposed to be discharged," "Name omitted on muster roll," "Ordered to Dixon," or "Absent without leave," were substituted. In one instance "He says he had to plow" is used.¹

Atkinson, bewildered, but knowing that the Indians must be driven by famine to give battle or to retreat, determined to cut off retreat and provide a place for provisions and for the sick, by building a fort. He dropped down Bark River to the point where the Bark enters the Rock, and there erected the fort called Fort Koshkonong.² Later, the name was changed, in honor of the General, to Fort Atkinson. Operations were probably commenced on the fort July 11, 1832.

The stockade, for such it was, was erected a little east of north of where the residence of E. P. May now stands, about six rods from Rock River, and one hundred rods west of the

¹ Armstrong, *The Sauks and the Black Hawk War* (Springfield, Ill., 1887), p. 443.

² Wakefield, *History of Late Indian War* (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834), p. 47.

mouth of the Bark.¹ The enclosure included, it is estimated, from one-half to one acre of land. It was built about square, and had two very rude block houses, one on the southeast and the other on the northwest corner.²

The stockade was formed by digging a trench about four feet deep, and placing oak logs on end, so that they would extend above the ground about eight or ten feet. Loop-holes were left between the logs, so that muskets might be used from within in case of an attack. A short distance east of the fort was a large windlass used to draw up cattle for slaughter. General Atkinson had at one time 4,500 regular soldiers encamped in and about the fort.

During the latter part of July, 1832, accurate information was obtained that Maj. Henry Dodge had discovered Black Hawk and his entire army flying towards the Mississippi.³ Atkinson sent 3,000 of his troops to Helena, on the Wisconsin River, to join the pursuing division under Dodge, while thirty or forty men were left to garrison the fort. The next month, the fort was abandoned, having been used about two months.

Much criticism was passed on Atkinson by the Eastern press, and by some of the old Indian fighters, because of his failure to capture Black Hawk at Lake Koshkonong. Some intimated that he was cowardly, and erected forts and breastworks when there was little necessity. It was evident that Black Hawk was trying to escape from Atkinson, and it was charged that Atkinson was doing all in his power to avoid Black Hawk. However much criticism he deserved for building this fort, and for his failure to capture Black Hawk at this point, he retained the respect and loyalty of the soldiers of the regular army. Wakefield, who was with Atkinson, thus describes⁴ the precautions taken by him just before reaching Lake Koshkonong: "Here Gen. Atkinson had on this night (July 1) breastworks thrown up which was easy done; as we were encamped in thick, heavy timber, this was a precaution which he was always afterwards famous

Mrs. C. A. Southwell, *Fort Atkinson as it Was*.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, p. 313.

³ *Id.*, vi, p. 406.

⁴ Page 47.

for, and which went to show that he set a great deal by the lives of his men and by no means was a mark of cowardice; for generalship comes more in good management than in anything else."

One of the soldiers¹ while stationed here, went to the Bark River to fish. An Indian skulking in the high grass on the other side shot him, the wound proving fatal. He was buried on the top of the hill, about six rods north of where the Lutheran Church now stands. The grave was surrounded with oak logs and covered with pebbles from the river. A stave at the head of the grave bore the name "Peter Dobbs," rudely carved, though with evident pains. This grave was shown to visitors up to 1890, when the hill was removed. Tradition says that one other soldier was shot here, and another died of disease. Both of these were buried east of and near the foot of the hill dedicated to Peter Dobbs.

In the fall of 1836, Dwight Foster and family, accompanied by Aaron Rankin, came to Fort Atkinson and erected a log cabin about fifteen feet square, four rods west of the fort. The fort, at that time, was partially demolished, and after a few years there was little left of the old stockade.

Mr. Foster's house was the first one built in the settlement of Fort Atkinson, and was used as the post office and as an inn for travelers.² A. F. Pratt, with A. Story, made a trip from Milwaukee to the lead mines in February, 1837. In an account, he speaks of the difficulty of the trip after leaving Prairie Village (Waukesha), and then says:

We reached Rock River just as the god of day was sinking in the west, and as good luck would have it we discovered a light a short distance from the river and directed our steps toward it. Upon our arrival at the spot from which it proceeded we found some old friends whom we had previously seen at Prairie Village, the Messrs. Foster of Fort Atkinson. This was the only cabin in the place. It had just been completed and was located near the old fort.

Reader, if you are ever cold, hungry, weary, "*dry*" and wet at the same time you can imagine our feelings at that time. The accommodations were somewhat limited, it being a log cabin of about the usual size and

¹ Aaron Rankin is my authority.

² *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, i, p. 140.

contained but one room, occupied by two families. Ten travelers besides ourselves had bespoken lodgings for the night, still we were comfortably provided for.

In the subjoined sketch of the old fort as seen in 1836, Mr. Foster's hospitable residence is included. The sketch is of course an ideal one, and is made from descriptions of those who saw the fort at that time.

It is a pleasant fiction often recounted, that Abraham Lincoln was at Fort Atkinson. As with Homer and his birth place, it is feared that there must be many Lincolns to satisfy the desire of all places to claim the presence of our national hero. Abraham Lincoln, with a companion, was undoubtedly traveling on foot towards his Illinois home, before Fort Atkinson was built. Although this honor cannot be ours, there is some evidence that Jefferson Davis spent some time in the fort.¹ It is stated that he was at this time a lieutenant under Captain Low at Fort Atkinson. Major Davies said, "he was as gentlemanly a man as I ever saw." But even this modicum of notoriety must be denied. There is better evidence that Jefferson Davis was not with his command at Fort Atkinson. He took part in transporting prisoners from Fort Crawford to St. Louis, but that is probably his only connection with the Black Hawk War.²

Even though the old stockade was of no particular value in defense, and even though none of Black Hawk's braves ever had the slightest intention of making an attack on Atkinson's army, it has served the purpose of making an interesting historical center, and probably of locating the beautiful and thriving city of Fort Atkinson.

¹ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 407.

² Anderson, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 172.

THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN.¹

BY JAMES O'NEILL.

When, after a residence of a year in Wisconsin a quarter of a century ago, I revisited my old home in New York, I met a lawyer in whose office I had been a student. After the usual greetings the conversation ran into a discussion of the relative merits and advantages of the East and West. I was enthusiastic in praise of the rapidly developing new states of the Mississippi Valley, and especially of the State which I had selected for my future home. My friend grew impatient, and began to denounce the West and Western business and society. I remember, especially, his description of a Western railroad. He said we threw up over the prairies a turnpike, laid ties eight or ten feet apart, spiked rails across them, and called it a railroad. The city of Chicago was of mushroom growth, and in commerce and finance would always play a part unimportant compared with the great cities of the East. I parted from my friend smarting, somewhat, from the lash of his sarcasm.

A quarter of a century has elapsed. Chicago has grown to be a giant, and is fast approaching the importance of the metropolis of the great Empire State. The deposits in one of its banks during the past year exceeded that of any bank in the country. The Mississippi States, of which it is the center, have grown to be the richest and most important empire on the face of the globe. In capacity to produce all that is useful and staple for man's support and comfort, this Middle West is incomparably superior to the Atlantic States, including New York herself. We have lived to see the balance of political power pass from the East to the Mississippi Valley. I happened to be in

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899. The author is judge of the 17th judicial circuit.—Ed.

the house of representatives when the test vote was taken on the location of the World's Fair. When the Western metropolis was chosen, it was a revelation to the East which startled them. I could turn the tables on my friend today, and by many facts and figures demonstrate the superiority in various directions of the new country, compared with the states where so many of us were born.

At the semi-centennial celebration last summer, in this city, I met a gentleman with whom I had, many years ago, a slight acquaintance. I approached him and found, as I expected, that it was necessary to give my name and to suggest my former connection with an Eastern institution with which both had had some relation. He recalled me at once, and then looking into my face with an air and voice of compassion, said: "Oh, you live somewhere up in northern Wisconsin, do you not?" There was an inflection on the words "somewhere" and "northern Wisconsin" which, it seemed to me, indicated that he pitied me for having gone to the wilderness, among the barbarians.

Well, I meet just such men in Chicago, and not infrequently in the capital and metropolis of our own State. I am ready to inform such people that we in the north need no pity; that we are proud of the whole State; and that we believe the northern half of it is steadily advancing to a position in which, in production of the fruits of the earth, of the staples necessary to the sustenance and comfort of man, in the products of mines and forests, in commerce, and in the possession of a cultivated and enlightened citizenship, it will not suffer by comparison with the southern portion. So I will premise by the statement that I am enthusiastic over the development of northern Wisconsin, and exceedingly hopeful of its future.

The line which separates what may be called northern and southern Wisconsin is not definite. It seems fair to divide the seventy counties of the State equally, and this can be done by taking Brown, Shawano, Marathon, Portage, Wood, Clark, Trempealeau, and all the counties north of these. for the northern half. These thirty-five counties comprise 18,516,583 acres as against 13,500,783 acres in the southern portion.

The population in this northern territory in 1855 was 24,236; in 1880 it had increased to 144,000; in 1895 it was 609,560. Several counties were almost uninhabited twenty years ago. The population of Douglas county in 1880 was only 655; in 1895 it was 30,000, and is now much larger. That of Ashland was then 1,559; now 17,000. Each of these counties now contains a large city, important as centers of commerce and promising much in the future.

At the close of the War of Secession, Eau Claire county had a population of 5,000; in 1895 it was 33,000, and it now contains a city which is the great railroad and commercial center of the northwestern part of the State.

Lincoln county started in 1880 with a population of 2,000, and has increased eight fold. Its county seat, Merrill, is a flourishing manufacturing town.

Marinette has trebled its population in twenty years; its county seat, in connection with its sister across the river in Michigan, enjoys the distinction of being the greatest lumbering manufacturing district in the world. Where was a wilderness only twenty years ago, will now be found a city of about 20,000; a hotel costing \$100,000; an elegant opera house; and modern luxuries.

The assessed valuation of the land in the northern portion, as fixed by the State Board last year, was \$62,736,178 as against \$192,649,393 for the southern half. Thus it will be seen that the south is rated as worth over three times as much as the north. The total value of all property in the State is fixed at \$600,000,000, of which the southern section is assigned \$470,000,000, and the northern \$130,000,000 — which again is a ratio of over three to one.

I just pause to prophesy this as to the future: that every census hereafter will see a noticeable approach in the north to the values in the south, and that within the lives of some now living, it is likely the wealth of the first will exceed that of the latter.

The first settlers of northern Wisconsin were largely from New England, New York, and Canada. Accessions from these sources have been pouring in steadily for the past twenty-five

years; and in addition there has been enrichment of German and Scandinavian blood. This blending has produced a thrifty, industrious, and progressive people, perfectly fitted to the work of clearing the forests and opening hill and valley into beautiful farms.

The Germans, especially, have contributed to the agricultural prosperity of Wisconsin. I chanced to meet Ex-Governor Hoard a short time ago, on his return from a lecturing tour among the farmers of central and northern New York. He described the remarkable depreciation in the value of farm lands in that State. Farms formerly worth \$15,000 to \$20,000 are now selling for \$5,000 to \$8,000. The price has dropped from \$70 to \$80 per acre down to \$20 to \$40. Mr. Hoard's explanation is this: Farmer boys do not stay on the farms. They seek work on the railroads and in the cities, and many go West. So the number of thrifty farmers is constantly diminishing.

My own observations in this State indicate that here the conditions are precisely the contrary. When the oldest son of a German farmer marries, the father buys him a farm. By economy and forethought, provision has been made for this event. Then the remainder of the family begin to save to buy a place for the next boy. Then the next is provided for, and so the family is planted about the parents; and all go steadily and merrily on, in a prosperous career. The farms become beautiful and fruitful, and values steadily advance. As times go on, these farmers have bank accounts, and their sons and daughters begin to fill the high schools and the University, returning generally to apply their learning in agricultural pursuits. I have observed this condition in my own county. In that town where farms are highest in price, the population is most largely German. So there has been no such depression in farm land here, as in New York. In northern Wisconsin there has been a remarkable advance within two or three years.

EDUCATION.

These pioneers of the north have brought with them the common school and all its blessings. Go where you will in the forests of this State, and as soon as a few families have hewed out

rude homes, a good school house is erected at a section corner. It is refreshing to go into new settlements, and in a drive through the woods to come suddenly upon a pretty, new school house, with all modern conveniences, and to meet the rosy children and blooming school mistress.

There was expended in the last school year, in the thirty-five counties which I have mentioned, for school purposes, \$1,204,000.

The sons and daughters of these people are filling the normal schools, academies, and the State University. So although much of the country is new, this people will be accompanied by all the light and culture exhibited in the older communities. No rioters or anarchists are bred here; all are true and patriotic — such material as will forever be the bulwark of a great and expanding nation.

FORESTS.

The forests of northern Wisconsin have been, and are still, rich in valuable timber. The late report of the forestry commissioner indicates that in the twenty-five years from 1873 to 1898, there has been cut and manufactured in twenty-seven of the northern counties sixty-six billion feet of pine, and that there is left only fifteen billion. It is estimated also that there is left sixteen billion feet of hardwood, being oak, basswood, birch, elm, ash and maple. It is said in this report, "The importance of the forest to the State of Wisconsin as a factor of wealth, is very great." The statement that "The wood industries have built every mile of railway and wagon roads, every church and school house, and nearly every town, and that in addition they have enabled the clearing of half the improved land of North Wisconsin" is by no means extravagant.

The lumber industry, especially in hardwood, will continue for a long period, probably fifty years, and will be a constant source of profit.

AGRICULTURE.

The writer hereof was born and reared on a farm; and during the quarter of a century he has lived in this State, he has almost constantly owned and conducted a small stock farm,

which has served as a diversion from the anxiety of professional duty. How delightful to turn from the strife of the court room to the sight of growing grains, green pastures, and flocks and herds! A gentleman who has held high official position in this State, and who is now occupying a responsible position in a great institution, with a salary of ten thousand a year, told me he would enjoy leaving the "prison"—a term used to describe his elegant office where he spends his business hours—and go out to live on a farm, where he could be close to nature and her delights. I imagine that when that same man was a boy, he dreamed he would be supremely happy if he could ever reach such a position of honor and confidence as the one he now holds.

One of the justices of our supreme court has for years owned and managed a large farm. It brings him joy and health, and assists in keeping him in sympathy and touch with the masses of the people. He is exalted in my mind as a man and citizen, on account of his pastoral tastes.¹

Three thousand years ago a sacred writer said: "Thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways and to fear him, for the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land; a land of brooks and of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil, olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness; thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayst dig brass." Truly, northern Wisconsin is a land of "brooks and of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; of wheat and barley and honey; wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, and whose stones are iron."

Now that the lumber interest is declining, the true and substantial basis of the prosperity of this section of the State is coming to be observed. The southern half of this section is already well advanced, and the coming twenty-five years will be marked by surprising agricultural development. Lands which have been covered with maple, oak, basswood and elm, are generally

¹ The late Justice S. U. Pinney, who happened at that time to be in the audience.—ED.

a clay loam and very fertile; and a large portion of this section is of this character. Of course there are swamps and sandy belts, but when the swamps are drained they are found to be fertile, and especially adapted to raising hay. The sandy belts are suited to producing root crops, and especially potatoes.

In pasturage, and capacity to produce hay, it is believed northern Wisconsin excels every other portion of the United States. And so it is fast becoming a great producer of cattle, sheep, and horses, and butter and cheese. It used to be considered that cattle had to be fed so many months in the year that we could not compete with southern Wisconsin and Illinois. But it is now demonstrated that in a large portion of the section under consideration, any difference in climate is fully compensated by richness and persistency of pasturage, and larger crops of hay. When in the summer and fall, in Rock, Green, and Walworth counties, the pastures are brown and bare, those in Clark, Marathon, Dunn, and Price are fresh and green.

Osseo and Mondovi are two small villages in Trempealeau and Buffalo counties respectively. The former shipped last year 700 cars of agricultural products, and the latter over 900 — mostly cattle, sheep, and hogs. There was distributed among the farmers in these localities, from this source alone, nearly a million dollars. In this connection, Senator Whelan, of Mondovi, a business man and banker, having means of information, states that within the past three years over \$50,000 of mortgages on farms in this vicinity has been paid off. In a few years these farmers will be lenders instead of borrowers.

A paragraph in a Menomonie paper states that one buyer in that city shipped \$54,000 worth of hogs last year to a packing house in Eau Claire.

When I came to Wisconsin in 1873, the principal business in Clark county was lumbering. Large quantities of supplies were shipped in, but no products of the farm were shipped out. Now, all is changed. With the decline of lumbering has come a development of agriculture and dairying, which insures a more permanent and abundant prosperity. According to the census of 1895, Clark county contained farm lands valued at

\$3,966,000. There were cattle valued at \$240,000; sheep valued at \$35,000; horses valued at \$120,000; hay valued at \$300,000; oats valued at \$120,000; potatoes worth \$50,000; butter worth \$128,000; and milch cows worth \$163,000. The last four years have greatly increased these amounts. One Saturday last fall, I happened to be at the depot at my home, and saw a shipment of thirteen cars of stock. I was told that there was distributed that day to the farmers for this, upwards of \$10,000. A steady stream of money is now coming to our farmers for butter, cheese, hogs, cattle, and sheep; the financial condition of the producers is vastly better than it ever was in the palmy days of lumbering. I may be pardoned for saying that I believe Clark is the gem of the northern counties, and within the next quarter century will be one of the richest counties in the State.

Let us turn to a county farther north. I suppose that many people believe that Price county is only a lumbering region, not fitted for agriculture. My friend, M. A. Thayer, under date February 15th of this year, writes me of the products and prospects of the country about Phillips:

The products of Price county are all grains, peas, clovers and grasses especially fine, vegetables that cannot be excelled, and small fruits to perfection, with winter protection. Early corn generally matures, late corn uncertain; sheep, the dairy and their support are the natural products of this section.

Answering yours of yesterday, further would say, we are growing some apples, plums and cherries, but as in most of Wisconsin, they are still in an experimental state, and must be limited to half a dozen varieties. In small fruits such as can be protected in winter, I have been completely surprised at the quality and quantity that can be produced here. I have grown small fruits for many years in southern parts of the State, but have never equalled Price county for vigor of plant, quality and perfection of fruit, and large yields. I attribute this to abundance of snow in the winter to protect against severe weather, late springs preventing early maturity of fruit buds, and quick warm soil giving rapid growth of berry. Our crop is usually a week or ten days later than southern Wisconsin and Michigan, thus giving us better market and ready sales. I have twenty acres in strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, currants and gooseberries. The special advantages of this section will be found in the natural grasses and clover producing qualities of the soil insuring us, beyond a doubt, a first class dairy country.

Two hundred and fifty new families found homes in Price county last year, and prospects now are that more than double the number will locate here during the year 1899.

Good cheap lands on long time and easy payments is sure to settle and improve this country rapidly.

Mr. Thayer's statements are worthy of credit, for he is demonstrating the truth of his theories.

The limit of my paper is reached, and I must omit many subjects worthy of consideration. The commerce of the lake ports the manufacturing industries and the building of thrifty cities and villages, deserve notice, but must be passed. Northern Wisconsin is great and prosperous, but her period of most substantial development is only now in sight. The next quarter century will bring her well up in productive wealth with the southern half of the State, resulting in a commonwealth of patriotic, progressive, and intelligent citizenship, rich in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and to which, as one of the great family of States, we may point with justifiable pride.

THE GREAT LAKES IN RELATION TO THE RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN.¹

BY J. S. GRIFFIN.

A history of transportation would constitute a most complete source of data for the history of civilization — the migrations of men and the incentives thereto, their social and industrial conditions, their implements of peace and war, their arts, their sciences, their customs and institutions, their intertribal and international intercourse, the genius, the tendencies, the aspirations of each particular age or people — the whole life, mental, moral, economic, or institutional, of the human race. With such a conception of the significance of the subject, the writer approaches the task set him of treating even one particular phase of it, in a limited area within the bounds of a twenty-minute paper, with something of the feeling which a certain eminent German historian must have had when, at a banquet, the young lady at his side sweetly begged that he would favor her with a brief history of the world, while the dessert was being brought.

Commerce has always been the tutelary deity of civilization, the trader her high priest, and the great waterways her sacred precincts. Nor is it probable that human invention will ever destroy or greatly disturb these relations. Science and invention are constantly giving new powers to man, adding to his dominion over matter, making him less subject to his environment. But though she may enable him to project his thought, his voice, his vision, instantly around or through the earth, or to the stars, by wireless telegraphy or by ethereal or occult

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899.

forces, yet no Edison or Tesla has ever dreamed of bodily transporting him, or his food or raiment or shelter, without the aid of material media. These media of transportation may be land, water, or air. But until the realms of air become more practically exploited, waterways must retain their old supremacy as the world's great trade routes. Mr. Tratman, in the *Wisconsin Engineer* for January, shows that the maintenance of ways and structures by the railroads of the United States costs practically \$160,000,000 per annum, over \$866 per mile, or 20 per cent of their total operating expenses. When we consider in addition to this the enormous original cost of the building of these ways and structures, in comparison with the much more perfect permanent waterways, costing practically nothing to build or maintain, we must agree that no mechanical device, no craft of syndicate or trick of legislation is likely soon to turn the tide of traffic from these great arteries. It is along them, on the great harbors and at the heads of navigation of lake or river systems, that the great marts, those busy centers where the world's commercial life mingles and throbs and thrills, will continue to thrive.

Let us state at once the true function of land and water — or, if you please, rail and water commerce, in relation to each other. To extend our metaphor, if the waterways are the great arteries, the railways are the smaller blood-vessels and capillaries. The former carry the great commodities between distant sections of a country, or to remote markets of the world; the latter are the distributors and feeders, which by their minute and intricate ramifications take up the rich material brought to them and supply it to every part where they penetrate, gathering in return and bringing back to the ports of shipment the surplus products of a country. The two systems are, therefore, "As the bow unto the cord is," mutually supplementary, reciprocally profitable, and equally necessary to the country's best development. It follows, that under natural conditions "rail and sail" will seek to meet each other at the most economical points, the water commerce carrying its cargoes in gross bulk as far inland as possible before breaking it up for the more expensive transportation in smaller lots by rail;

while the railroads, *mutatis mutandis*, seek the nearest points at which to deposit their freight, where it may be forwarded by the cheaper though slower agencies of navigation.

These, I say, are the tendencies under natural conditions. Artificial or accidental conditions may for a time modify or even reverse these relations. But such results are temporary or local, and do not invalidate the general proposition.

Nowhere has this law of commercial economy been more completely illustrated than about the head of Lake Superior in northern Wisconsin. In prehistoric times this was coveted territory, a bloody battleground, where two most powerful and intelligent tribes contended through long dark ages for its possession. Professor Turner¹ has called it the key to the continent, for its small lakes and tributary rivers form connecting links between its great lakes and every part of the continent — to the east by way of the Sault to the Atlantic, to the south by the Bois Brulé or the St. Louis and St. Croix to the Mississippi and the Gulf, to the north and west by the Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg, thence by way of the Saskatchewan to the Pacific, by the Nelson to Hudson's Bay, or by the valley of the MacKenzie to the Arctic and across to Asia. Then the smaller streams and the trail through "forests primeval" were the routes of an extensive interior commerce. Of this there are many evidences, such as the distribution of flints, and copper from the ancient mines of northern Wisconsin among the tribes from the Atlantic to the Pacific and southward, perhaps even to Mexico.

For two hundred years from the time of Nicolet's visit to Wisconsin at Green Bay, in 1634, the fur trade was the almost exclusive object of commerce. The Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence became the main highways of this trade, and teemed with various craft carrying inland voyageurs and equipments, or returning laden with peltry. The coureurs de bois threaded every stream and forest — a multitudinous advance guard of civilization, penetrating even to the Pacific.

¹F. J. Turner, *Early Indian Trade in Wisconsin* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, series ix).

With the British occupation in 1763, came a change of policy. Instead of sending out an army of trappers, their plan was to trade direct with the Indians at their posts, and for this purpose the Northwest Company established emporia at Detroit, Mackinac, Sault, the Grand Portage, La Pointe, and at Fond du Lac (of Lake Superior). This change is significant to northern Wisconsin interests, in several ways. The old transcontinental trails, so frequently followed by the French from Lake Superior to the Pacific, with the intimate knowledge of the northern country, became forgotten; a fact which had its bearing in the location of the first Pacific railroad along a more southerly route, instead of by this shorter, cheaper, and natural route of the great northern valleys. But it had also other important meanings. It gave to Jonathan Carver, in 1766, the vision of the great possibilities of a transcontinental route from the head of the Great Lakes to the Pacific, and the real solution of the long sought northwest passage to Asia—an idea transmitted from him through John Ledyard to Jefferson, and so on to its final realization a century after. It opened the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Erie route to the traffic, instead of compelling it to follow the more northerly route of the French by way of the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and the Georgian Bay. This latter fact, and the monopolization of the trade by the powerful Northwest Company, led to the first deep-waterways improvement. Canals to overcome the Cedar cascades and the Couteau rapids were begun in 1779, and completed in 1781. These were six feet wide, and two and a half feet on the sills. In 1797 the first canal at the Sault was begun, and was used by the Northwest Company to take up loaded canoes. These were usually about 30 feet in length and of about three tons burthen.

The Canadian government has from time to time enlarged the canals of its St. Lawrence system to 5, 9, 12, 14 feet depth over sills. But this was not until after the fur trade had been superseded by new and greater commercial interests.

The lumber and mineral resources of northern Wisconsin and Michigan began to attract attention very soon after this territory came into our possession. By a letter from Samuel Preston, of Stockton, Penn., to the *New York American*, it would seem

that we owe this territory directly to Benjamin Franklin's sagacity, and ultimately to the minute knowledge of the country gained by the French during their occupation. The letter bears date of May 1, 1820, and is quoted in an early number of the *Superior Chronicle* as follows: "Dr. Franklin told me that when he was drawing the treaty of peace with England in Paris he had access to the journals and charts of a corps of French engineers who had sloops and were exploring Lake Superior when Quebec fell into the hands of the British, from which charts he drew the line through Lake Superior to include the most and best copper to the United States, and the time would come when drawing that line would be considered the greatest and best service he ever rendered to the country." By the early '30's the lumber and mineral interests of this section had already attracted a considerable population to the southern shore of Lake Superior. About this time the lead deposits in the southwest part of the State began to attract large numbers of settlers. These mining and lumber camps developed agricultural settlements about them, and soon the old trails were crossed by the plowman's furrow, the haunts of the beaver and otter were exposed by the woodman's ax, and the halcyon days of the fur trade were gone forever.

At first it was the lead trade that superseded it. With the rise of this new interest arose a sharp competition between the two great transportation routes to the eastern market — the one by the Mississippi, via New Orleans and the Gulf to New York, the other by the Great Lakes and the Erie canal. The crying need was a railroad connection between the lead mines and the lakes. On January, 1836, Mr. Edgerton as chairman of the committee on internal improvements in the territorial legislature of Michigan, "reported favorably" on a memorial to the legislative council then in session at Green Bay. He dwells on the importance of the lake traffic, but the burden of his report is the "Milwaukee and Mississippi railroad." He calculates the comparative cost of carrying the annual output of 14,000,000 lbs. of lead by the Mississippi-Gulf and the Lake-Canal routes, and shows an annual saving of \$110,000 by way of the latter. On the 17th of September following, we find Mr. Edgerton, at a meeting

of the citizens of Milwaukee, appointed a member of a committee to correspond with different parts of the territory about the proposed railroad. In the same issue of the paper which contained the account of the meeting (The Milwaukee *Advertiser* of September 22, 1836, as cited by Dr. Meyer), appears the announcement that the legislature will be petitioned at its next session to incorporate a company to build a road from Milwaukee to the City of Superior — although the editor naively confesses his ignorance of the exact geographical location of the northern terminus. In 1842 Moses M. Strong estimated the annual saving in the transportation of the 20,000,000 lbs. output of lead at that time, to be \$2,500,000 in favor of the route by the lakes over that by way of the Gulf to New York.¹

From now on, railroad projects fairly hurtled in the air. The newspapers of the period, up to the panic year of 1857, teem with booming editorials upon proposed new lines, all heading toward their respective cities, the realization of which would make them metropolitan heavens. But the people most eagerly, desperately desirous of railway connections with the rest of the world were those of the isolated communities in the north and in the southwest. The editor of the *Grant County Herald* says: "The River and Lake are feeling for each other, and the railroad must unite them even if Sin and Death get the contract." "Most of us were more anxious to get a railroad," says an old resident of Superior, "than we were to get to heaven." It is difficult at this day to realize the situation of these people of the Upper Lake, stranded on the shore of that great northern sea, its waters seeming to stretch away beyond their horizon into the infinite, while on the other side the solitudes of a vast wilderness lay between them and the nearest civilization.

But they were full of hope, and though themselves often failing of the coveted prize, they were able to shake some good plums down within reach of their fellows at the southwest. The rivalry of Chicago and the growing lead and agricultural interests of northern Illinois, had turned railroad enterprise in that direction. Sectional and corporate interests had delayed and de-

¹ B. H. Meyer, "Early Railroad Legislation in Wisconsin," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv.

feated Wisconsin legislation, and the river settlements were still without a railroad. Meantime, a number of keen, far-sighted men had been attracted to the head of the lakes. In 1852 congress granted 750,000 acres of land to the State of Michigan to aid in constructing a ship canal around the Sault rapids, and it was about this time that the agitation culminated for a great transcontinental railroad from the head of Lake Superior to the Pacific. Land was pre-empted; prominent men of the nation were interested, and a company was formed to found a great city at the eastern terminus of this road. The site included 4,000 acres and the stock was divided into twenty-seven shares, distributed among the following contributors: Wm. W. Corcoran, banker, Washington, D. C.; Senator Robert J. Walker, Mississippi; John W. Forney, Philadelphia; Senator Wm. A. Richardson, Illinois; Senator Jesse D. Bright, Indiana; Senator John C. Breckenridge, Kentucky; Senator Stephen A. Douglas, Illinois; Julius N. Granger, a relative of Douglas; R. M. T. Hunter, Virginia; Horacè S. Walbridge, Toledo; Geo. W. Cass, Pittsburgh; Geo. E. Nettleton, Wm. H. Newton, James Stinson, Superior; Daniel A. Robertson, Daniel A. J. Baker, R. R. Nelson, Edmund Rice, St. Paul.

Many of these senators and capitalists, from nearly every section of the country, were also personally interested in the Pacific railroad scheme, so that the interests of that enterprise and those of the young metropolis were united and supported by an influence almost national in extent and character. The southern Wisconsin contingent was not long in recognizing and allying itself with this strong young power at the north. Common cause was made in the halls of congress, and by an act approved June 3, 1856, the national government granted "to the state of Wisconsin, for the purpose of aiding in the construction of a railroad from Madison or Columbus, by way of Portage City, to St. Croix ~~river~~ or lake, between the townships twenty-five and thirty-one, and from thence to the end of Lake Superior and to Bayfield; and, also, from Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago, northerly to the state line, every alternate section of land designated by odd numbers, for six sections in width on each side of said roads, respectively." Under the provisions of this grant

the State legislature delegated the work of construction to two incorporated companies—the one authorized to construct the road from Fond du Lac to Superior, touching the Michigan line and connecting with the Michigan roads, to the harbors of Marquette and Ontonagon; the other, the La Crosse & Milwaukee, to construct from Madison to Hudson, thence to Superior. The “pull” of the Superior contingent in congress is easy to trace in the heading of these roads towards that city. The provision for the branch from the St. Croix to Bayfield was the work of Senator Henry M. Rice of Minnesota, who had acquired property interests in that town.

The eastern company, incorporated as the Wisconsin & Superior, or Portage, Winnebago & Superior, was by act of the State legislature February 12, 1857, consolidated with the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac, now the Wisconsin Central. It was originally entitled to some 1,800,000 acres of public lands. But by the straightening of its line between Portage and Stevens Point it lost 251,800 acres. Although it has never completed its line from Ashland to Superior, it has never relinquished its claim to lands between these points. But a rival claim to these lands was set up by the Northern Pacific, when in 1884–85 it built its line between these points. This claim of the Northern Pacific has recently been confirmed by Judge Lochran of the United States district court of Minnesota. By this, the Wisconsin Central will lose some 155,000 acres more, reducing her actual benefits from the land grants to about 1,393,120 acres. The construction in the western part of the State, carried on in several divisions under the names of the Western Wisconsin, the La Crosse & Milwaukee, the Tomah & St. Croix, and the St. Croix & Superior railway, with branch to Bayfield, resulted in the consolidation of all of them, August 8, 1873, into the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, now developed into the “Omaha” system. It has received under the land grant 1,408,452.69 acres.¹

By a provision of the original grant, the lands could be sold only in a quantity “not exceeding one hundred and twenty sections, and included within a continuous length of twenty

¹ Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington, 1884).

miles of road," and only upon certification of the governor that twenty continuous miles of the road had been built, could "another like quantity" of the land granted be sold, "and so, from time to time, until said roads are completed." The rapid settling of the State from the south made ready sales and pushed the work of construction steadily on from that direction. Work was also actively begun from the Superior end. Before the close of 1856 the contract had been let, and during the summer of 1857 Dillon, Jackman and Jarrett, contractors, had about fifteen miles graded. Then came the great panic, the contractors failed, their supplies and equipment were brought back to Superior and sold at auction — "a God-send to the poor people," says my chronicler, "for the winter was coming on and provisions were scarce" — the work stopped, and a long night of disappointment set in.

Disappointed, indeed, but not disheartened, with a sublime faith in the destiny of their city — their City of Destiny, they put it — and a courage nothing short of heroism, the people of the land-locked village by the lake were soon again busy with new plans. Within the next three years many paper roads were on the way to Superior, among the minor attractions being the Milwaukee & Superior, and the Milwaukee & Horicon. The latter, popularly known as the "air line" and intended to connect at Superior with the contemplated Northern Pacific railway, was actually graded some twenty miles out from Superior, in the summer of 1880. But a contest arose between it and the La Crosse & Milwaukee, now the "Omaha," over the land grant between Superior and Spooner. The Omaha won, and the work was abandoned. In 1892, when the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic extended its line from Iron River into Superior, it adopted this old "air line" grade. The Milwaukee & Superior was a project of Alexander Mitchell, who early contemplated pushing his line through the lumber belt to Lake Superior. By this time, however, the Civil War was on, Douglas was in his grave, the powerful influence of the southern senators in congress was lost, and new conditions had turned public interests and favors towards the rapidly developing middle west. Thus it was that railroad enterprise in northern Wisconsin languished for a time.

But the visions that hovered most persistently and seductively before the eyes of the Superiorites were those of two great national highways, both starting from the head of the lakes and traversing the country at right angles to each other, one southwestward to the Gulf, the other westward to the Pacific, forming with the great lakes a transcontinental route.

The Lake Superior and Mississippi project was an inheritance from the old days of rivalry between the Mississippi and the lake routes, and resulted in the building of what is now the St. Paul & Duluth railway, the pioneer road to the head of the lakes. It did not enter Wisconsin, however, until 1888, when a bridge was built across St. Louis bay and its trains were run to Superior.

If anyone supposes that the age of romance is past, that the spirit of poetry is dead, and that Pegasus has been put to flight by the steeds of steel and fire, let him read the story of the building of the Northern Pacific — he will find an unwritten epic between the lines. In boldness of conception, in the great national and world interests involved, in its fascination over the minds of men, in the picturesqueness, the grandeur, the heroism of some of its characters, in pathos, in humor, it is worthy to rank with the *Odyssey*, or the old songs of the Mist Land. It has its Ulysses and its Nestor, its Siegfried and its Hagen, its Chevalier Bayard, its Don Quixote and its Sancho Panza. Here there is only time to say that this first-planned, last-finished sea-to-sea route eventually vindicated the faith of its first prophets as the most feasible, natural, shortest one, where the Atlantic and the Pacific reach a third of the way across the continent towards each other, and the gradients of the line connecting them are the lowest. Great international conflicts on which the destinies of the continent were staked, panics, civil war, politics, sectional jealousies, and the southward deflection of the tide of western emigration which has been noticed as one of the results of the British occupation of the northwest, are some of the causes which delayed it for a hundred years.

The first wheelbarrow of dirt for the eastern division was shoveled by Joshua B. Culver, the mayor of Duluth, and delivered by Col. Hiram Hayes of Superior, at Komoko, near Thomp-

son, Minn., February 15, 1870, amid rejoicings and speech-making by the citizens of both places. But Superior had to bear another disappointment. Instead of running his line into this city, Jay Cooke leased the St. Paul & Duluth from Thompson to Duluth, and made Duluth his lake terminus. The Wisconsin town was doomed to ten more years of weary waiting.

The drama has its comedy side, however. For safety from the storms of the lake, Jay Cooke had to build his docks inside the natural harbor formed by the narrow tongue of land called Minnesota Point. To secure an entrance of their own into the harbor, the Duluth people cut an artificial channel through the point. Superior, located just opposite the natural entry, out of chagrin at seeing herself thus cheated, brought suit under claim of damage to her harbor by the change of current through the new channel, and compelled Duluth, at a cost of \$100,000, to build a dyke from Rice's to Minnesota Point. Now, however, she found that Duluth had a little private harbor all her own, and she was not in it. So one dark night a party of Superiorites stealthily rowed over to the obnoxious dyke and blew up the enemy's works which they had themselves compelled him to build.

Superior next determined to build a connecting line of her own to the Northern Pacific junction. James Stinson and Horace S. Walbridge, two members of the original townsite company, were rivals for the building of this road. At a mass meeting to raise funds for the enterprise, both made speeches. Walbridge told the people how he had come to Toledo a poor barefoot boy, had by his own efforts acquired a fortune there, and had now cast his life and fortune with them. The crowd took up the phrase, "Barefoot Boy," and it stuck to him all the rest of his life. When the day came to vote on the bonds, the town was decorated with "hand-painted" portraits of the "Barefoot Boy" with an abundant display of healthy looking toes. The Walbridge bonds got the votes. About one hundred property holders voted \$300,000 worth of bonds, of which \$75,000 were placed with Jay Cooke & Co. Upon Cooke's failure in 1873, all but \$25,000 were called in, and the last of these were paid in 1892. And still Superior was without a railroad.

In 1880, James Bardon of Superior and H. S. Walbridge of Toledo attended a meeting in President Billings's office in New York, with a view to securing some kind of terms for a connection with the Northern Pacific. There was also a Duluth delegation in the city, and both parties were watching each other's movements, the Superiorites confessedly nervous as to the probable influence of the Duluthians against them. Bardon and Walbridge went early to the meeting, and were wondering what kind of a reception the Duluth people would get. Presently Mr. Billings was called into an adjoining room and asked Mr. Bardon to preside in his absence. Hardly was he out of the room, when in came the gentlemen from Duluth, evidently surprised to find their rivals in the front seat and holding the reins! At this meeting Superior secured a promise of the dearly sought railroad, but at that price of "one full and equal third part of all and singular the lands, premises and real estate in the town or city of Superior, supposed to contain five thousand and one hundred (5,100) acres," together with 100 feet right of way through the city. No further commentary on the hunger of their hearts for a railroad is necessary, than the fact that this price was readily paid by nearly every property-owner in the city. They simply lay down and invited this Moloch to walk over them.

The road came. The town awoke from its twenty years' nightmare to find the rosiest dream of its youth suddenly realized as if by magic. The rest is already ancient history. In 1884 the Northern Pacific was completed as a trans-continental line, and extended to Ashland. Besides the old land grant from Superior to Ashland, the road claims 200 feet right of way on each side of its track for this entire distance.

The Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic, completed to Superior in 1892, gives to northern Wisconsin a through trunk line to the east, and though practically a Canadian line, fulfills the promise of one of the original projects of an Atlantic and Pacific railroad—a direct New England route. The "Soo" line, from Minneapolis to the Sault Ste. Marie, was a purely business enterprise of Minneapolis interests; but it well illustrates the thesis of this paper as to the mutual relations of lake and rail-

road traffic. The Great Northern, however, with its octopus-like arms stretching far out over the rich territory tributary to its main line, and its magnificent fleet of steel freight and passenger steamers on the lakes, is the almost magical realization, by one cool-headed, far-sighted business man, of the dreams of Carver and Ledyard, of Whitney and Perham, and the brave, patient pioneers who half a century ago came to northern Wisconsin at the head of its great lake, and deliberately staked their fortunes on the result.

The result may be summed up statistically to date as follows:

SAULT CANAL STATISTICS.

	Passages.	Tonnage.
1855, opened, locks 12 ft. water.....	.....	106,296
1871, first railroads to head of lake.....	1,637	752,101
1883, new lock, 16 ft. water.....	4,315	2,267,101
1893, Fosston branch, Great Northern.....	17,761	18,622,745
Freight of 1893 valued at \$240,000,000.		

There is a steady increase of traffic corresponding to increased facilities of rail or lake transportation, until it is now four and a half times that of the Suez canal. Meanwhile the freight rates have decreased from 9.7 mills per ton-mile by rail in 1887 to 8.0 mills in 1892; and water-rates have decreased from 2.3 mills per ton-mile in 1887 to 0.8 mills in 1898. The Dominion Statistician of Canada says that in the early part of the century the cost of transporting a barrel of salt from Montreal to Lake Erie was equal to the value of 18 bushels of wheat. In 1893 the cost of carrying a barrel of flour from Superior to Buffalo was ten cents. But this is not all. President Hill of the Great Northern says that with a 20-foot channel to the sea (and this will soon be accomplished) he will cut the present prices of transportation in two. This will mean a direct profit and better living to every man, woman and child in the country. Superior before 1885 was a good example of the uselessness of navigation without railroads. Wichita, Kansas, where the writer once lived through a typical western boom, is an equally good example of the impossibility of building up a great city by railroads alone. It may be argued that both are useless without territory, natural resources

and population. But even more so are the latter without proper transportation facilities. Superior, since 1885, is an illustration of the results when "sail meets rail." Before that time her commerce was practically nothing. In 1898, she handled 155,000 loaded cars of freight; 3,056 vessels arrived and cleared at her docks; 70,000,000 feet of lumber were sawed; 4,000,000 barrels of flour were shipped from her mills; 1,800,000 tons of coal delivered at her coal docks; and 51,000,000 bushels of grain received at her elevators. The grain shipments of the Superior-Duluth port for the crop season — five months, July-December, 1898 — were 54,000,000 bushels, of which Superior got 70 per cent. The official records show the net tonnage of vessels arriving and clearing at the port of Superior in 1898, to be 4,863,304; of the Suez canal, 4,842,078 — a difference of twenty thousand tons in favor of Superior. The railroad freight handled in Superior in 1898 aggregates 7,509,904,040 pounds. From nothing in 1835, the mileage of railroads centering in Superior has increased to 18,512 miles, and according to the state commissioner's records, Douglas county's railroad tax in 1898 was greater than that of any other county in the State.

The present year promises to be one of unusual activity in rail and water transportation enterprises at the head of the Lakes. Stimulated by the surprising records of last year, a number of roads, most prominent among them being the "Burlington Route," are projecting extensions to this point; new fleets of vessels will be put afloat, and old ones enlarged; vessels of larger capacity than ever are building; and a large appropriation has recently been made for the re-survey of routes for the proposed Lake Superior-Mississippi canal, by way of the Bois Brulé, or the St. Louis and St. Croix rivers.

We have seen the first impulse to this wonderful development given by the beginning of the Sault canal in 1852, and the prospects of a railroad from the head of the lake to the Pacific; we have seen how the lake and the railway then began to feel for and at last found each other, though "Sin and Death" did often "get the contract;" how they have since in their mutual development followed the natural laws of commerce; what have been some of the results, and what possibilities yet await real-

ization; and through it all, in what intimate ways distant, even isolated portions of our State or our country have often been united in interest and destiny.

It is doubtful whether there exists anywhere a more interesting field for the study of the dynamics of trade than northern Wisconsin.

THE HISTORY OF A GREAT INDUSTRY.¹

BY JOHN LUCHSINGER.

That portion of Wisconsin which lies west of Rock River and south of the Wisconsin is the blue-grass region of the State,—underlaid with limestone, the work and product of ages on ages of beings that lived, worked, and perished, their remains piled up in petrified masses; when crumbled by frost and softened by rains, they give up their long-stored substance to nourish the rich vegetation which now flourishes above. The luxuriant blue-grass which covers hill and dale, is the means by which nature draws from the old and buried past, nourishment and life for the present. It covers the surface as with a dense carpet; frost and drouth cannot stifle it so long as its roots are nourished by the exhaustless stock of limestone beneath. Hill and valley afford the finest pastures and meadows for the many herds of dairy cattle which one sees; and these produce the milk from which is made the excellent butter and cheese for which this region is noted.

Cheese factories and creameries dot the landscape, more and more frequently, as one gets nearer the hills and among them. The little city of Monroe, county seat of Green county, is in the very midst of the cheese region. Beautifully located on a high, rolling plateau, it has a progressive, intelligent population of nearly 4,000. In this county are two hundred cheese factories and thirty creameries. Practically all of the farmers are interested in the dairy business. Ten million pounds of cheese were made in this county alone, in the year 1898; and nearly as much more in the counties adjoining.

While this is a remarkable showing of the extent of this business, yet the most interesting and singular feature about

¹ Address before the State Historical Convention at Madison, February 23, 1899

it is the fact that all or nearly all of this cheese is of the foreign or fancy varieties; not one per cent is of the American, or standard cheddar kind. The most of it is the well known Swiss cheese. Another noteworthy fact is that nearly all of those engaged in making this cheese, and in buying and selling it, are Swiss or of Swiss origin. It is as common to hear, in Green county, broad Swiss spoken, and to hear the Yodel song from far-away Switzerland, as to hear German in Milwaukee.

How this great business originated and grew to its present dimensions is an interesting study. How, from extremely humble and small beginnings made by people driven by poverty to found new homes in this once wild land, it has been possible to establish this immense industry, is an object lesson of the highest value, especially to those who, impatient of step-by-step advancement, would jump at one bound into greatness. No nation ever became great suddenly; no great business or fortune has ever been built up, except by patient and persistent work. Even character and reputation are formed little by little, by every-day actions, words and thoughts. So this great dairy industry does not owe its greatness to large investment of capital, loud advertising or lucky speculation. Patient toil and wise use of the little germs of knowledge of this business, which a few Swiss immigrants fifty-four years ago brought with them, have accomplished this great work.

America, since its discovery by Europeans, has been peopled by swarm after swarm of colonists detached from the great European hive. Religious persecutions, political troubles, and wars have caused many such emigrations; but, poverty, that greatest mover of man's energies and ambitions, did more to bring colonists here than all other causes. And poverty, or rather the energy it begot, caused the origin of this remarkable business.

Switzerland, from a farmer's view, is one of the most sterile countries of Europe. More than half its surface is unfit for cultivation, because of rocks and glaciers. Its people get a living only by unceasing work and strict frugality. It is rich only in heroic history, grand scenery and an ever-overflowing population.

From that country, in 1845, forced by economic necessity, twenty-seven families came to Wisconsin. Like the bees before swarming, they had sent in advance two pioneers to spy out the land and find a suitable settling place. These two, after months of weary travel through nearly all of the Northwestern States, passed by the broad rich prairies of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri, near to commerce and transportation, as unfit for their purpose, and, among the roughest hills of Green county, selected the location for the colony, which complied closest with the instructions they had, to secure a location as like old Switzerland as possible, that there might be less homesickness.

The colony after a journey of four months—down the Rhine to the ocean in boats, across the ocean to Baltimore in a sailing vessel, thence to Galena by canal and steamer, from Galena to Green county on foot—clustered in the little valley of New Glarus, and began the usual work of the early settler.¹ Here, the greatest of all industries in southern Wisconsin had its birth. Just as soon as the settler owned a cow, the germ of knowledge of cheesemaking, which he had brought with him, began to sprout. At first, infinitely small was the growth; a pailful of milk, a little copper kettle, and a wooden hoop split from a sapling, were the beginnings of the industry. Cheeses no larger than a saucer, which could be held by the hand of a child, were the ancestors of the 200-lb. Swiss cheese now standard.

The little kettle, used for cooking purposes and hung in the fireplace of the log cabin, was the predecessor of the cheese-factory, with all its conveniences, of today. The wife and daughter were the first cheesemakers, because the men could spare no time from the work of clearing, breaking and fencing. They went to work with what poor means were at their command; their cheeses became larger and better, as increase in cows and experience came, and a steady and remunerative market was created for what could be spared. Up to 1870, cheese was not made by any factory system; each cheese dairy used only the milk produced on one farm. Of course a spirit of emulation

¹ See Mr. Luchsinger's historical sketch, "The Planting of the Swiss Colony at New Glarus, Wis.," *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi.—Ed.

arose, and it became a matter of pride to produce better cheese than others.

A little incident witnessed by the writer, illustrates the feeling then prevailing. Two settlers named Rudy and George met. Rudy said to George: "I have had splendid cheese this season; I have sold two wagon loads at Madison for 12 cents a pound, and am going to Freeport next week with another load for which I expect 13 cents a pound. I have but a very few inferior cheese."

George listened and smoked, and said nothing until Rudy closed his talk by saying: "How is it with you, George? Have you hauled off any of your cheese?"

George slowly took his pipe from his mouth and said, "No."

"Why, what is the matter; ain't your cheese ripe?"

"Nothing is the matter," said George, "I have no cheese to haul away; I have sold them all as fast as they have ripened, right at home, for 14 cents a pound."

Cheesemaking by dairy farmers continued to increase, but wheat-growing was, until 1870, the principal business of the farmer. Then came the chinch bugs in such swarms as to ruin not only the wheat crops but also barley, oats, and corn. Wheat farmers realized that a change must be made in their business, or the insect pests would devour their farms. Those in debt became more deeply involved. The young men were leaving the country for the farther West, preferring the hardships of a frontier life to being debt-ridden here.

Then it was that the cheese factory came. Two small factories were built by farmers in the roughest parts of the county; but, inexperienced and timid as they were, it required no small amount of argument and persuasion to get them to invest the necessary labor and money. Modest and inexpensive as the original venture was, the first year's results showed that climate, soil, grass, and people were well adapted to the profitable production of cheese in factories.

So, year after year, more factories, in ever widening circles, were put up; more kinds of cheese began to be made; better methods of making were used; the result was, a uniformity in quality, and an increasing market not attained under the old system, which was very soon abandoned.

N. Gerber, J. Regez, and J. Karlen were the pioneers of the factory system here, as applied to making Swiss and fancy cheese.

Until very recently, all of the cheesemakers were Swiss, and for the most part imported, as no dairy school in this State teaches the making of fancy cheese.

It is now acknowledged that Wisconsin-Swiss cheese is the equal of that made in Switzerland. It has captured the American market; it is regularly quoted in the markets of all our cities; it has come to stay. Why not? With Swiss farmers, Swiss cheesers, Swiss merchants, the best of grasses and water, and intelligent management, it cannot fail to produce an article which has reduced importation of foreign cheese to a minimum.

I will only add that in the dairy section named, farmers of all nationalities have perforce been drawn into the production of dairy goods. Very few there are who are not directly or indirectly connected with this business, which, with its necessary accompaniments of regular, steady work and intelligent attention all the year round, has done much to make southwestern Wisconsin one of the most law-abiding, intelligent, progressive, and prosperous farming sections of the whole country.

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